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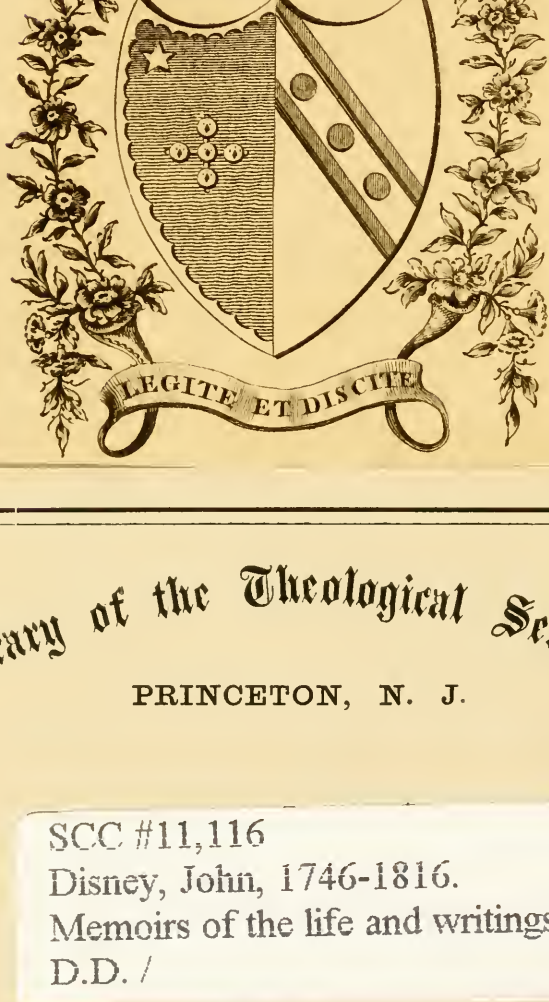

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN JORTIN, D.D.

BY JOHN DISNEY, D.D.F.S.A.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, N°. 72,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

M DCC XCII.

" Scripture," ſay the proteſtants, " is the only rule
" of faith in matters pertaining to revealed reli-
" gion, and they ſay well. There is no other
" chriſtianity than this; no other teſt of doctrines
" than this; no other centre of union than this.
" Whatſoever is not *clearly* delivered there,
" may be *true*, but cannot be *important*. HÆC
MEA EST SENTENTIA, NEQVE ME EX EA VLLIVS
VNQVAM AVT DOCTI AVT INDOCTI MOVEBIT
ORATIO."

Jortin's Remarks on E. H.
vol. iii. p. 85 and 86.

PREFACE.

THE life of a literary man is chiefly devoted to his labors in the republic of letters, and therefore ſeldom affords any variety of incident unconnected with his writings. On this account, theſe are the proper objects of his biographer's attention, and it becomes his duty to commend, or cenſure, as he conceives them to deſerve praiſe, or blame, reſpectively.

In the delineation of literary chara we are drawn to the conſideration of the different degrees and departments of uſeful learning, and the honeſt application of it to the advancement of truth, and the general happineſs of mankind. In this view, the labors of our author are truly reſpectable;

they are the produce of great abilities, and real learning; they diſcover all the marks of true genius and taſte; they were intended, and are well calculated, to forward the better knowledge of the chriſtian diſpenſation, to enlarge our chriſtian charity and our chriſtian liberty, and to promote the practice of virtue in every ſituation of life.

It will anſwer the moſt ſanguine expectation of the preſent biographer of Dr. Jortin, if he ſhall be the means of introducing his readers to a more general acquaintance with his author. Few men, however learned or however excellent, will be able to peruſe the works of Dr. Jortin, without having their minds informed, and their tempers improved; their views of religion and virtue enlarged, and their good principles confirmed.

Dr. Jortin, it is apprehended, ſenſibly felt the want of that liberty which is eſſential to the profeſſion of genuine chriſtianity. For though this ſentiment is not expreſſed, in the terms of complaint or remonſtrance,

it

it may frequently be discovered in incidental observations, in many parts of his writings.

The difficulties, however, which, upon this presumption, may be supposed to have lain in his way of accepting preferment upon the terms which the church of England requires of her ministers, do not appear to have presented themselves to his mind, with the same force they have done to others. But, though this may surprise some persons, and I do not undertake to be his apologist in this matter, nevertheless it is not to be considered as a just cause of indiscriminate reproach. When principles are entertained, in consequence of examination and inquiry, which militate against our own early prejudices and the established practice of our fathers, embarrassments of various kinds impede the adoption of them in their full extent; and it may frequently be observed that the obligation and consequences of such convictions are found to be a distinct and subsequent consideration, and do not equally affect the different persons concerned in them.

Be

Be this as it may, with reſpect to our author; it will be ſufficient for his readers to benefit by his abilities, his genius, and his learning, from a careful peruſal of his writings; and to apply the reſult of their reading, according as the unprejudiced judgment of each ſhall direct. Where he affords them light, they will do well to follow it, and to improve it. If Dr. Jortin's theological opinions were not in perfect conformity with his ſubſcriptions, (as others underſtand the formularies referred to,) that was his perſonal concern; and whether the dogmas of that church, of which he was a member, are agreeable to the word of God, and conſiſtently required of proteſtants, it very nearly concerns the ſtate to inquire. As ſhe hath already interpoſed her authority, ſhe alone is now competent to correct her own great error; for this moſt deſirable reformation can only be effected by expunging from her laws every ſtatute that preſumes to impoſe upon the conſciences of her ſubjects, or to retrench that liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made them free.

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CHAPTER I.

Mr. Jortin's birth; education; elected fellow of Jeſus college Cambridge; enters into orders; preſented to the vicarage of Swaveſey near Cambridge; marries; reſigns Swaveſey; appointed preacher at a Chapel in New-ſtreet, London; his early publications. 1698—1730.

JOHN JORTIN, the ſubject of theſe memoirs, was born in the pariſh of St. Giles in the fields in the county of Middleſex, October 23, 1698.

His father, Renatus Jortin, was a native of Bretagne in France, and had ſtudied at Saumur. His teſtimonial from that academy is dated 1682, and is now in the poſſeſſion of his deſcendents. He came into England a young man, along with his father, uncle, two aunts, and two ſiſters,

about the year 1685, when the proteſtants fled from France, on account of the revocation of the edict of Nantz by Lewis the fourteenth. Soon after his ſettlement in this country, he married Martha daughter of the rev. Daniel Rogers of Haverſham in Buckinghamſhire, who deſcended from a family of the ſame name that reſided at Lees near Chelmsford in Eſſex, in the reign of Henry the eighth, and had produced ſome clergymen, diſtinguiſhed by their abilities and learning.

Mr. Renatus Jortin was appointed one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber to king William the third, in the year 1691*; and was

* "After this, and before I was born, (ſays Dr. Jortin in his Adverſaria) he took a fancy to change his name into JORDAIN, and to give it an Engliſh appearance; being fond I ſuppoſe of paſſing for an Engliſhman, as he ſpoke Engliſh perfectly, and without any foreign accent. This gave me ſome trouble afterwards when I went into deacon's orders under biſhop Kennet, for the regiſter of St. Giles in the fields wrote my name, as it ſtood there, *Jordain*. I gave the biſhop an account how it came to paſs. After my father's death, my mother thought it proper

was, afterwards, ſucceſſively ſecretary to admiral Edward Ruſſell earl of Orford, ſir George Rooke, and ſir Cloudeſley Shovel; and periſhed with the latter when his ſhip unfortunately ſtruck upon the rocks, called "the biſhop and his clerks," off Scilly, October 22, 1707.

After this melancholy event, Mrs. Jortin removed into the neighbourhood of the charter-houſe, the better to accommodate the education of her ſon, who was now nine years of age, and ſent him to that ſeminary as a day-ſcholar. He learned French at home, and ſpake it well. At the age of fifteen he had completed his claſſical ſtudies at ſchool, after which he remained at home about a year, and perfected himſelf in writing and arithmetic.

On the 16th of May 1715, he was admitted penſioner of Jeſus college in Cam-

 bridge;

proper to aſſume the true name of Jortin; and ſhe and I always wrote it ſo.

"I did not think there was any perſon left of our name, till lately (1770) I found in a newſ-paper, that a merchantman came to one of our ports, commanded by captain Jortin, from the Weſt-Indies."

bridge; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his abilities and application, that whilſt he was an undergraduate, he was engaged by the recommendation of his tutor, the learned Dr. Styan Thirlby, to tranſlate ſome of Euſtathius's notes on Homer for Mr. Pope*.

Dr.

* Mr. Fenton, in a letter to Mr. Pope, ſays, "I have received a ſpecimen of the extracts from Euſtathius. The firſt gentleman who undertook the affair, grew weary, and now Mr. Thirlby, of Jeſus, has recommended another to me with a very great character. I think, indeed, at firſt ſight, that his performance is commendable enough, and have ſent word for him to finiſh the ſeventeenth book, and to ſend it, with his demands for his trouble. He engageth to complete a book every month till chriſtmas, and the remaining books in a month more, if you require them." See "Additions to the works of A. Pope, Eſq. 1776." vol. ii. p. 106. Mr. Jortin's own account of his concern in this buſineſs, from his manuſcript papers, as I find it in Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer." p. 258. Note *. and in the 2d vol. of his Tracts, &c. p. 519—521. will be perfectly ſatisfactory. "What paſſed between Mr. Pope and me, I will endeavour to recollect, as well as I can; for it happened many years ago, and I never made any memorandum of it. When I was a ſoph at Cambridge, Pope was about his tranſlation of Homer's Ilias, and had publiſhed part of it.

"He

Dr. Samuel Johnſon, in his lives of the poets, has taken notice of this circumſtance, but with all the acrimony towards Pope and coldneſs towards Jortin which are ſo frequently to be found in his writings, when he

" He employed ſome perſon (I know not who he was) to make extracts for him from Euſtathius, which he inſerted in his notes. At that time there was no latin tranſlation of that commentator. *Alexander Politi*, (if I remember right, began that work ſome years afterwards, but never proceeded far in it. The perſon employed by Mr. Pope was not at leiſure to go on with the work; and Mr. Pope (by his bookſeller, I ſuppoſe) ſent to Jefferies, a bookſeller at Cambridge, to find out a ſtudent who would undertake the taſk. Jefferies applied to Dr. Thirlby, who was my tutor, and who pitched upon me. I would have declined the work, having, as I told my tutor, other ſtudies to purſue, to fit me for taking my degree. But he,—*qui quicquid volebat valde volebat*,—would not hear of any excuſe. So I complied. I cannot recollect what Mr. Pope allowed for each book of Homer; I have a notion that it was three or four guineas. I took as much care as I could to perform the taſk to his ſatisfaction: but I was aſhamed to deſire my tutor to give himſelf the trouble of overlooking my operations; and he, who always uſed to think and ſpeak too favourably of me, ſaid, that I did not want his help. He never peruſed one line of it, before it was printed; nor perhaps afterwards.

" When

is ſpeaking of men, in many reſpects, his ſuperiors. "Notes," ſays he, "were likewiſe to be provided; for the ſix volumes would have been very little more than ſix pamphlets without them. What the mere peruſal of the text could ſuggeſt, Pope wanted no aſſiſtance to collect or methodize; but more was neceſſary; many

"When I had gone through ſome books, (I forget how many) Mr. Jefferies let us know that Mr. Pope had a friend to do the reſt, and that we might give over.

"When I ſent my papers to Jefferies, to be conveyed to Mr. Pope, I inſerted, as I remember, ſome remarks on a paſſage, where Mr. Pope, in my opinion, had made a miſtake. But, as I was not directly employed by him, but by a bookſeller, I did not inform him who I was, or ſet my name to my papers.

"When that part of Homer came out, in which I had been concerned, I was eager, as it may be ſuppoſed, to ſee how things ſtood; and much pleaſed to find that he had not only uſed almoſt all my notes, but had hardly made any alteration in the expreſſions. I obſerved alſo, that in a ſubſequent edition, he corrected the place to which I had made objections.

"I was in ſome hopes in thoſe days (for I was young) that Mr. Pope would make inquiry about his *coadjutor*, and take ſome civil notice of him. But he did not; and I had no notion of obtruding myſelf upon him—I never ſaw his face."

many pages were to be filled, and learning muſt ſupply materials to wit and judgment. Something might be gathered from Dacier; but no man loves to be indebted to his contemporaries, and Dacier was acceſſible to common readers. Euſtathius was therefore neceſſarily conſulted. To read Euſtathius, of whoſe work there was then no latin verſion, I ſuſpect Pope, if he had been willing, not to have been able; ſome other was therefore to be found, who had leiſure as well as abilities, and he was doubtleſs moſt readily employed who would do much work for little money.

" The hiſtory of the notes has never been traced. Broome, in his preface to his poems, declares himſelf the commentator *in part upon the Iliad*; and it appears from Fenton's letter, preſerved in the Muſeum, that Broome was at firſt engaged in conſulting Euſtathius; but after a time, whatever was the reaſon, he deſiſted: another man of Cambridge was then employed, who ſoon grew weary of the work; and a third was recommended by *Thirlby*, who is now diſcovered to have been *Jortin*, a man ſince

well known to the learned world, who complained that Pope, having accepted and approved his performance, never teſtified any curioſity to ſee him*".

Mr. Pope began his tranſlation of the Iliad with notes in 1712, his twenty fifth year, and concluded it in 1718, his thirtieth year†. This circumſtance aſcertains with ſufficient accuracy, that Mr. Jortin was not more than eighteen or nineteen years of age, when the good opinion of his tutor had recommended him to this literary exerciſe.

Mr. Jortin was admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts, in January 1718-19; and was elected fellow of Jeſus college October 9, 1721. He proceeded to take the degree of maſter of arts at the commencement 1722.

On the tenth of October 1722, Mr. Jortin was appointed one of the moderators, at the diſputations in the ſophs' ſchool, and, at michaelmas in the ſucceeding year, he was elected one of the taxors. The learned Dr. Edmund

* Johnſon's "Lives of the Engliſh Poets." vol. iv. 8vo. p. 42. and 43.

† Ib. p. 44.

Edmund Law, late biſhop of Carliſle, who took his firſt degree in arts 1723, told me, ſome few years before his death, that he kept an opponency under Mr. Jortin when moderator, and though he was every way eminently qualified to diſcharge the duty of his office, was a man of few words. The biſhop added, however, in the courſe of our converſation, that, in conſequence of that exerciſe, Mr. Jortin recommended him in the univerſity, and thereby laid the foundation of his future advancement.

In the courſe of the year 1722, Mr. Jortin publiſhed a few latin poems, which were well received, entitled "Luſus Poetici," in a thin quarto of twenty four pages, with a preface: a ſecond edition appeared in 1724, in a ſmall octavo:* and a third in 1748, in quarto,

* During Mr. Jortin's reſidence at Cambridge, a ſtupid and abuſive poem was left at a coffee-houſe, compoſed by one M******** of Sidney college, commonly called Sawney M*********; in which a great many ſcurrilous freedoms were taken with ſeveral poetical adventurers, and with Jortin among the reſt, who wrote, at the bottom of this miſerable performance, the following lines;

"Angry

quarto, printed by Bowyer,* with additional poems, but without the preface. His name is prefixed only to the firſt edition; the two laſt were printed to be given to his friends.†

In a more recent edition of his "Luſus Poetici," republiſhed in the firſt volume of "Tracts, &c." 1790 (p. 1---53.) the editor has introduced five additional poems which were "found among the author's papers, and deemed not unworthy of a place amidſt their predeceſſors." At the end of the ſame volume, (p. 460-470.) he has preſerved ſome tranſlations from the originals.

Dr.

"Angry reformer of the times!
The lord have mercy on thy rhymes!
Thy verſes have an ague got,
They are ſo very cold and hot."

† See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 207. and p. 259. note *.

† The Editor of Vincent Bourne's "Miſcellaneous poems," publiſhed in quarto, 1772. p. 314. has by miſtake, reprinted with ſome variations, the third ode of Jotin's, *Qualis per nemorum*, &c. as the production of Mr. Bourne, under the title of "Votum." See Gent's Mag. for 1776. p. 496. A beautiful tranſlation of this ode, ſee "Tracts" &c. vol. i. p. 461.

Dr. Viceſimus Knox, who is certainly a writer of claſſic taſte, and one whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention more than once in theſe memoirs, (ſays in ſome "Curſory remarks on the life and writings of Dr. Jortin,") that "his latin poetry is claſſically elegant;" and has obſerved that "the firſt efforts of genius have commonly been in poetry. Unreſtrained by the frigidity of argument, and the confinement of rules, the young mind gladly indulges the flights of imagination.* Cicero, as well as many other ancient philoſophers, orators, and hiſtorians, is known to have ſacrificed to the muſes in his earlier productions. Dr. Jortin," ſays he "adds to the number of thoſe who confirm the obſervation. In his *Luſus Poetici*, one of the firſt of his works, are united claſſical

* In confirmation of this remark,---"Some of Milton's latin poems were written in his firſt year at Cambridge, when he was only ſeventeen: they muſt be allowed to be very correct and manly performances, for a youth of that age. And, conſidered in that view, they diſcover an extraordinary copiouſneſs and command of ancient fable and hiſtory." See Warton's Preface (p. xviii) to his edition of Milton's "Poems upon ſeveral occaſions." 1785.

ſical language, tender ſentiment, and harmonious verſe. Among the modern latin poets, there are few who do not yield to Dr. Jortin. His ſapphics, on the ſtory of Bacchus and Ariadne, are eaſy, elegant, and poetical. The little ode, in which the calm life of the philoſopher is compared to the gentle ſtream gliding through a ſilent grove, is highly pleaſing to the mind, and is perfectly elegant in the compoſition. The Lyrics are indeed all excellent. The poem on the immortality of the ſoul is ingenious, poetical, and an exact imitation of the ſtyle of Lucretius. In ſhort, the whole collection is ſuch as would ſcarcely have diſgraced a Roman in the age of an Auguſtus."*

Mr. Jortin was ordained deacon by Dr. White Kennet, biſhop of Peterborough, September 22d. 1723; and prieſt by Dr. Thomas Greene, biſhop of Ely, June 24. 1724. On the 20th of January 1726-7, he was preſented by the maſter and fellows of Jeſus college to the vicarage of Swaveſey near

* See "Eſſays moral and literary." vol. i. Eſſay xviii. 2d. edit. 1779. or vol. ii. Eſſay cxv. 4th. edit. 1784.

near Cambridge, and in January 1727-8, agreeably to the ſtatutes, he reſigned his fellowſhip.

About the month of February 1728, he married Ann daughter of Mr. Chibnall of Newport-Pagnell in Buckinghamſhire.* On the 1ſt of February 1730-1, he reſigned his vicarage of Swaveſey, and not long after ſettled

* In the firſt volume of the "Miſcellaneous obſervations," p. 379. and in the firſt volume of "Tracts" &c. p. 47. "the following inſcription is ſubmitted to the judgment of the learned." It was republiſhed, as we are informed by the very ingenious Mr. Thomas Warton, in his "Inſcriptionum Romanarum metricarum Delectus." London, 1758; as an *ancient* inſcription.

INSRCRIPTIONIS FRAGMENTUM

D.M.

* * * * * * * * * *
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* * * * * * * * * *

QUÆ. TE. SUB. TENERA. RAPVERVNT. PAETA. IVVENTA.
O. VTINAM. ME. CRVDELIA. FATA. VOCENT.
VT. LINQVAM. TERRAS. INVISAQVE. LVMINA. SOLIS.
VTQVE. TVVS. RVRSVM. CORPORE. SIM. POSITO.
TV. CAVE. LETHÆO. CONTINGAS. ORA. LIQVORE.
ET. CITO. VENTVRI. SIS. MEMOR. ORO. VIRI.
TE. SEQVAR. OBSCVRVM. PER. ITER. DVX. IBIT. EVNTI.
FIDVS. AMOR. TENEBRAS. LAMPADE. DISCVTIENS.

In

ſettled in London, where he was engaged as reader and preacher at a chapel belonging to the pariſh of St. Giles in the fields, then in New-ſtreet, near great Ruſſel-ſtreet, Bloomſbury. In this ſituation he continued till 1746.

On Mr. Jortin's removal to London he publiſhed "Four ſermons on the truth of the

In Dodſley's "Collection of poems," vol. iv. p. 188. and in Dr. Jortin's "Tracts," &c. vol. i. p. 472. is a beautiful tranſlation of the preceding inſcription by the Rev. Mr. Merrick.

Thee, PÆTA, death's relentleſs hand
Cut off in earlieſt bloom:
Oh! had the fates for me ordain'd
To ſhare an equal doom;

With joy this buſy world I'd leave,
This hated light reſign,
To lay me in the peaceful grave,
And be for ever thine.

Do thou, if Lethe court thy lip,
To taſte its ſtream forbear:
Still in thy ſoul his image keep,
Who haſtes to meet thee there.

Safe o'er the dark and dreary ſhore
In queſt of thee I'll roam;
Love with his lamp ſhall run before,
And break the circling gloom.

the chriſtian religion," in a ſmall volume in duodecimo. Theſe ſermons are no longer to be conſulted in the form in which they firſt appeared; they have been inſerted with advantage in ſome of our author's ſubſequent publications. But though we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of theſe at large hereafter, it may not be amiſs to obſerve where they are ſeverally to be found, very conſiderably enlarged and improved.

The firſt ſermon is on John xv. 24. and diſcuſſes the nature of miracles, and the evidence of the credibility of the goſpel from thoſe wrought by Jeſus Chriſt. Theſe obſervations and arguments are incorporated into the ſecond volume of the "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory," where the ſubject is treated more at large. In the ſecond ſermon, (on Luke xi. 32.) the preacher takes a ſhort view of the idolatry which prevailed before the coming of Chriſt, obſerving by the way, that religious worſhip was due only to the one ſupreme being; and conſiders the calling of the gentiles, as it was foretold by the prophets, and accompliſhed by Chriſt, as favourable

favorable to the better advancement of the knowledge of the true God. The ſubject of this ſermon will be found in the ſecond "Diſcourſe on the truth of the chriſtian religion."—The third ſermon treats of the miracles done by Chriſt and his apoſtles, (having for its text, John x. 25.) but theſe are alſo conſidered more at large in the ſecond volume of "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory:" the jews' motives for rejecting them conſtitute a part of the firſt "diſcourſe on the truth of the chriſtian religion." The fourth ſermon, on John v. 33. which treats of the teſtimony and credit of John the baptiſt, now makes the fifth of the "diſcourſes."

CHAPTER II.

The publication of his "Miſcellaneous obſervations upon authors ancient and modern;" his "Remarks on Spencer and Milton;" and theſe on Seneca, 1731—1734.

In the years 1731, and 1732, Mr. Jortin, in conjunction with ſome literary friends, publiſhed in a ſeries of twenty-four ſixpenny numbers, "Miſcellaneous obſervations upon authors ancient and modern;" making together two volumes in octavo. They have been much eſteemed by the learned both at home and abroad; and though the ſcarcity of theſe volumes, has ariſen from a waſteful and taſteleſs deſtruction of ſeveral copies, as I was credibly informed by the late Mr. Lockyer Davis, they have of late years been much ſought after.

To enter into critical inveſtigation into the merit of theſe papers ſeparately, would be, from the nature of the work, to undertake a

very laborious taſk, and, in ſeveral reſpects, a very uſeleſs one; and to loſe all benefit from our author's own diſtinction between *abſolute* and *relative dryneſs* in writings intended for the public eye.*

To

* "*Dry criticiſm,*" ſays Mr. Jortin in his preface to the ſecond volume of the obſervations, "is laid to my charge, and it falls as much upon the beſt critics as upon me. Nicolas Heinſius, and Iſaac Caſaubon, and Joſeph Scaliger, and Lipſius, and Salmaſius, and Grotius, and Dr. Bentley, have written notes, which however ſuperior to mine in other reſpects, yet can no more claim an exemption from dryneſs than mine.

"I had once a deſign to attack this objection in form, and to throw a whole pamphlet at it, entitled, Περὶ τοῦ Ξηροῦ. But having laid that thought aſide, I intend to diſpatch it in fewer words.

"I beg leave to diſtinguiſh and divide *dryneſs* in writing into *abſolute dryneſs* and *relative dryneſs*. Writings are *abſolutely dry* which are ſo in themſelves: writings are *relatively dry* which appear ſo to this or that reader.

"Moſt writings are *relatively dry*, but they are ſo in an infinite variety of degrees. Hiſtorians, orators and poets ſtand the beſt chance of pleaſing: critics, grammarians, antiquaries, logicians, and mathematicians are entertaining to one in a thouſand.

"A book is not the worſe in itſelf, whatever it may be to the bookſeller, for being *relatively dry*, even to a great degree.

To the critical ſcholar theſe fragments are valuable, and he alone is competent to receive pleaſure and advantage from the peruſal of them. A general account of them will convey ſufficient information, and abundantly anſwer the expectation of the general reader. The claſſic ſcholar muſt be referred

gree. *Relative dryneſs* in books, is like *ſecondary qualities* in bodies, ſomething which really does not belong to them.

" Since we can only judge of the *dryneſs* of books (if we judge for ourſelves) by the effects they have upon us, and ſince a book may be *dry* to one, and not *dry* to another, it muſt be very difficult to come to the knowledge of abſolute *dryneſs*. I am afraid that no rule can be laid down about it, which is not liable to ſome exception. The beſt criterion that I can think of, at preſent, is this: if all men of ſenſe and learning join to condemn a book as a *dry* one, that book is in great danger of being *abſolutely dry*.

" That the Miſcellaneous obſervations are *relatively dry* is a plain caſe. But whether they be *abſolutely dry*, is a queſtion, which I think thoſe gentlemen will not of themſelves find eaſy to decide; for I dare ſay, that they are too candid judges, and too good logicians, to infer, that their ſentiments, and thoſe of their friends, are the voice of the world.

Nul n'aura de l'eſprit que nous et nos amis,

is a rule, which I am perſuaded they will not care to go by."

to the obſervations themſelves, which, from the miſcellaneous nature of them, it is impoſſible to abridge or analyze.

When Mr. Jortin, in his preface to the work now before us, renounces all pretenſions to the name of critic, common prudence would recommend caution, even to ſcholars, in aſſuming a character in literature, which our author thought himſelf unequal to ſuſtain. " I pretend not," ſays he, to the title of a critic; many things, in which I know myſelf to be deficient, go to the making of a critic; an extenſive knowledge, a thorough ſkill in learned languages, a happy ſagacity, a ſound judgment, an obſtinate application to ſtudy. Even all this is not enough, if ſome of the learned may be believed: a critic, according to them, is one who knows every thing, at leaſt, not a little of every thing; who, like the wiſe man of the ſtoics, is not only a great orator, philoſopher, logician, &c. but a tolerable taylor and ſhoemaker."*

The contributors to theſe " Miſcellaneous obſervations" having ſet only initial letters

* See preface to the firſt volume, p. 4.

letters or feigned ſignatures to their reſpective papers, we will ſtate in the margin all the information we are in poſſeſſion of reſpecting the names of the ſeveral writers upon the authority of Mr. Nichols.† Such as are not now appropriated, will probably remain unknown. Thoſe papers which bear

† See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer." p. 259. note ‡. Where the different ſignatures, are, in part, explained as follows:

A. and R. Biſhop Z. Pearce,

Cantabrigienſis. Dr. Taylor.

Animadverſiones in Luciani Aſinum, vol. 1. p. 73. without a name: by the ſame.

B, C. G. Dr. Robinſon, editor of Heſiod. (I have not obſerved the letter G.)

D. Mr. Joſ. Waſſe.

L. T. Mr. Theobald.

J. M. Maſſon.

T. R. Mr. Rud, (the editor of Symeon Dunelmenſis, 1732.

☞. J. Walker.

B. G. Brampton Gurdon.

S. B. Mr. Samuel Baxter.

J. U. Mr. Upton.

Ω. Dr. Thirlby.

F.
Π. } unknown.
F. P.

no ſignature, may generally be aſcribed to the editor, Mr. Jortin. I do not recollect that he ſpeaks of the writers in this work in any part of his other publications, more than once; "the learned Joſeph Waſſe," ſays, he, "with two or three others, offered his aſſiſtance very kindly to the author of the miſcellaneous obſervations, who had not many friends to adviſe him and to countenance him; no ſmall diſcouragement to a young writer, and no bad excuſe for the defects in that work *."

This ſtore of critical learning was tranſlated into latin, and printed at Amſterdam, entitled, "Miſcellaneæ obſervationes in auctores veteres et recentiores; ab eruditis *Britannis*, anno 1731, edi coeptæ, cum notis et auctario variorum virorum doctorum." 1732. The firſt four volumes are employed in the republication of the pieces in Mr. Jortin's two volumes, and this part was completed 1734. When Mr. Jortin declined the engliſh publication, the foreign one

* See Remarks on E. H. vol. ii. edit. 1752. p. 21. note (a).

one was ſtill continued by the editor Jac. Phil. D'Orville, aſſiſted by the learned Burman, under the title of " Miſcellaneæ obſervationes criticæ in auctores veteres et recentiores: ab eruditis *Britannis* inchoatæ, et nunc a doctis viris in *Belgio* et aliis regionibus, continuatæ:" which laſt work was completed in ſix additional volumes in 1739. And between the years 1740 and 1751, the proſecution of this miſcellaneous and critical work, was purſued to the extent of four more volumes, aſſuming a further variation in the title, " Miſcellaneæ obſervationes criticæ novæ in auctores veteres et recentiores. In Belgio collectæ et proditæ."

In the ſecond volume of the poſthumous re-publication of " Tracts philological, critical, and miſcellaneous," (p. 45—528.) a great number of the papers in the two original volumes are reprinted, and diſtinctly arranged and entitled " Critical remarks on greek authors, on latin authors, and on modern authors." In the language of the editor, " the ſecond volume conſiſts partly of extracts from Dr. Jortin's manuſcripts;

partly of other extracts from the 'Miſcellaneous obſervations upon authors;' and by ſuch of the literati as have read thoſe obſervations, the new matter now introduced will perhaps be conſidered as a valuable ſupplement."* It is, however, to be wiſhed that the "Miſcellaneous obſervations" had been reprinted entire, or that the omiſſions and tranſpoſitions of papers had been noticed in a claſſed table for that purpoſe, correſponding with thoſe in the former volumes.

It will be ſufficient barely to mention here, that during the publication of the "miſcellaneous obſervations" in numbers, there were printed ſome anonimous "Remarks" upon them in a pamphlet of upwards of ſixty pages. They are not, however, deſerving of any particular notice; for though the writer may have poſſeſſed ſome learning, he does not appear to have applied it with any diſtinguiſhing judgment or acuteneſs.

Our author's ſkill and taſte for critical learning were again exhibited in ſome excellent

* See advertiſement prefixed to vol. i. of "Tracts" &c. p. v. and vi.

cellent "Remarks on Spencer's poems *," publiſhed in 1734, in octavo, to which were ſubjoined "Remarks on Milton †." And in a periodical work, entitled, "The preſent ſtate of the republic of Letters," for Auguſt in the ſame year, he publiſhed "Remarks on Seneca." ‡

Of Mr. Jortin's criticiſms upon thoſe rare engliſh claſſics, Spencer and Milton, it would be trifling to offer any praiſe, after the teſtimony born to their excellence by the late biſhop Newton and Mr. Thomas Warton.

Biſhop Newton ſpeaks of the aſſiſtance which he had received from Mr. Jortin in his publication of Milton's Poems, with a juſt and grateful ſenſe of his abilities and taſte; "I am obliged too," ſays he, "to Mr.

* Reprinted in "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 54---285. with additional notes, by anonymous, p. 287---306.

† Reprinted in "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 307---345.

‡ Article ix. ſigned J.---reprinted in "Tracts philological, &c. p. 404---424. where it is incorporated with two other ſhort papers on Seneca's tragedies from "Miſ. Obſervations," vol. i. p. 55, and 127.

Mr. Jortin for ſome remarks which he conveyed to me by the hands of Dr. Pearce (afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter.) They are chiefly upon Milton's imitation of the ancients; but every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticiſm, or divinity; as appears from his "Luſus Poetici," his "Miſcellaneous obſervations upon authors," and his "Diſcourſes concerning the truth of the chriſtian religion*." And the ſame editor of Milton's poetical works ſays elſewhere "The notes, as upon the "Paradiſe loſt," ſo likewiſe upon the "Paradiſe regained," and other poems, are of various authors, and of various kinds; but theſe, excepting only a few, were never printed before, and have therefore novelty to recommend them; as well as ſome names of the firſt rank and greateſt eminence in the republic of letters. The truth of my aſſertion will be fully juſtified, by mentioning only the names of Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin; who, while they are employed in writing the moſt learned and elaborate defences

* See his preface to his edition of Milton's Poems.

fences of religion, yet find leiſure to cultivate the politer arts; and to promote and improve, both in themſelves and others, a claſſical taſte of the fineſt authors. And, whatever may be the ſucceſs, I can never repent of having engaged in this undertaking, which hath given me ſo many convincing proofs of their friendſhip and kindneſs; and at the ſame time hath happily conjoined,—what perhaps might never elſe have been joined together,—*my* ſtudies, and *my* name, with *theirs**."

Mr. Thomas Warton, ſpeaking of the poems of Milton ſays, "ſuch reſpectable names as Jortin, Warburton, and Hurd, conſpired in examining their excellencies, in adjuſting their claims to praiſe, and extending their reputation†." And Dr. Knox remarks, that Mr. Jortin's "Obſervations on one of the fathers of engliſh poetry, need but to be more generally known, in order to be more generally approved‡."

* See Preface to "Paradiſe regained," vol. iii.

† See Warton's edition of Milton's "Poems on ſeveral occaſions," 8vo. 1785. preface p. x.

‡ See Knox's Eſſays moral and literary. vol. ii. Eſſ. cxv.

CHAPTER III.

Preſented to the vicarage of Eaſtwell, in Kent; appointed afternoon preacher at the chapel in Oxenden-ſtreet, London; publiſhes his "Diſcourſes concerning the truth of the chriſtian religion;" appointed afternoon preacher at Lincoln's Inn; publiſhes a ſermon preached at the conſecration of biſhop Pearce; appointed Boyle's lecturer; publiſhes the firſt volume of his "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; preſented to the rectory of St. Dunſtan in the Eaſt. 1737—1751.

MR. JORTIN was preſented by the earl of Winchelſea to the vicarage of Eaſtwell in Kent, worth about one hundred and twenty pounds a year, ſome time in 1737, but, the air of the place not agreeing with his health, he ſoon reſigned it, and returned to London.

He,

He, therefore, continued to officiate at the chapel in New-ſtreet, until he was appointed (March 20, 1746-7.) by his friend Dr. Zachary Pearce, then rector of St. Martin's in the fields, afternoon preacher at a chapel of eaſe belonging to that pariſh in Oxenden-ſtreet, in the place of the rev. —— Johnſon, then lately deceaſed; in which ſituation he continued till 1760.

In the year 1746, Mr. Jortin publiſhed his "Diſcourſes concerning the truth of the chriſtian religion," which included the ſubſtance of the "Four diſcourſes" before mentioned, and have ſince paſſed through ſeveral editions.* Biſhop Watſon has repeatedly, and very deſervedly, claſſed Jortin among ſome great and eminent names who have honourably and ſucceſsfully laboured to eſtabliſh the truth, and illuſtrate the doctrines of chriſtianity:† and biſhop Law, while

* The *ſecond* edition was publiſhed the next year 1747; the *third* 1752; the *fourth*, 1768.

† See biſhop Watſon's "Collection of tracts," vol. i. pref. p. xii. and vol. v. p. iii. of the accounts of the contents.

while engaged in the ſame ſervice, very juſtly pronounces him " a very learned and ingenious writer."* Dr. Knox, does not heſitate to ſay that his " Diſcourſes on the chriſtian religion, one of the firſt fruits of his theological purſuits, abound with that ſound ſenſe and ſolid argument, which entitled their author to a rank very near the celebrated Grotius."‡

Theſe diſcourſes have received much advantage from the acceſſion of additional matter, and their preſent arrangement. They contain a valuable collection of facts, and very maſterly diſplay of arguments upon ſome very intereſting parts of the inquiry into the evidences and truths of chriſtianity; concerning which, " if he has advanced any wrong notions, there is reaſon to hope," as he expreſſes himſelf, " that they proceed not from a bad mind, but are ONLY THE ISSUES OF UNFORTUNATE INQUIRY."

In

* See biſhop Law's " Conſiderations on the theory of religion." 5th edit. p. 326.

‡ See Knox's " Eſſays moral and literary," vol. ii. Eſſay cxv.

In the firſt diſcourſe, on THE PREJUDICES OF THE JEWS AND GENTILES, our author aſcribes the rejection of the goſpel by the jews to their wickedneſs, and to ſeveral prejudices which they had againſt the perſon of Chriſt and the doctrines of the goſpel. Thoſe againſt the former, were ſuch as, that none of the rulers or phariſees believed on him; his poverty and ignominious death; becauſe, as they ſaid, he profaned the ſabbath day; did not live in a way ſufficiently auſtere; becauſe they knew whence he came, had dwelt in Galilee and at Nazareth; becauſe he hinted that he was a much greater perſon than they imagined; and alſo becauſe the chriſtians worſhipped more Gods than one, and aſcribed divine perfections to Chriſt.*

This

* The words of Mr. Jortin elſewhere, on the abſurd notions of the heathens, conclude as forcibly when applied to the equally abſurd notions of the greater part of the chriſtians, from the time of the Nicene council to our own, incluſive. "It is ſo agreeable to reaſon," ſays he, to believe that there is one ſupreme independent being, diſpoſer, ruler and preſerver of all things, to whom alone religious worſhip

This laſt ſtated objection of the jews, ſo far as they thought themſelves right in the fact, is the moſt important reaſon among all thoſe aſſigned by them, or by others for them, in excuſe for their rejecting the chriſtian revelation. But, whatever opinion the jews might entertain of the ſentiments and practices of the early chriſtians in this reſpect, it has been proved to demonſtration that the chriſtians of the three firſt centuries were UNITARIANS.* However, upon the preſumption

worſhip is due, that it may ſeem very ſtrange that men ſhould have erred in this point, and fallen into all thoſe abſurd notions which the heathens entertained concerning their gods." "Four Sermons," p. 25. Strange that chriſtians, under the further light of revelation, ſhould continue to entertain ſimilar conceits; for it is very true, as biſhop Watſon juſtly obſerves, "that the books of nature and revelation equally elevate our conceptions, and incite our piety; they mutually illuſtrate each other; they have an equal claim to our regard, for they are both written by the finger of the ONE ETERNAL INCOMPREHENSIBLE GOD, TO WHOM BE GLORY FOR EVER. Amen." "Chemical Eſſays," vol. i. preface.

* See Dr. Prieſtley's "Letters to Dr. Horſley," which remain unrefuted, and, if ſome more doughty champion than the

ſumption that the charge of polytheiſm was brought home by the jews againſt the chriſtians, Mr. Jortin replies to it by fancifully explaining the various angelic appearances to Adam, to Abraham, to Moſes, to the elders of Iſrael, to the patriarchs and prophets, as being in fact no other than "the word of God, the ſon of God, who was in the form of God, who was the viſible image of the inviſible God, repreſenting the majeſty of his father, and acting in his name."

But, notwithſtanding all that has been written by ſeveral very learned and very liberal

the biſhop of St. David's does not buckle on his armour, and take up the gauntlet, will, and muſt remain to be conſidered as unanſwerable. Such vanquiſhed knights as biſhop Horſley, who are violent at the outſet and only cool in obſtinate perſeverance, ſcarcely ſerve to grace the victory at a tournament. To him may very properly be applied, what has been ſaid of ancient chivalry; "if he were in jeſt, he has done too much; if he were in earneſt, he has done too little." See alſo Dr. Prieſtley's ſeveral "Defences of unitarianiſm," "and Hiſtory of early opinions concerning Jeſus Chriſt," and particularly his invaluable little tract, entitled, "A general view of the arguments for the unity of God."—To theſe add alſo Mr. Wakefield's "Inquiry into the opinions of the chriſtian writers of the three firſt centuries." 8vo. 1784.

liberal-minded chriſtians, this objection of the jews, applied to that period of the church when this notion had actually crept in, remains in its full force, and is at this inſtant the great hindrance to their converſion, and, (ſuperadded to the prohibition of polygamy and divorce,) to the converſion of the mahometans alſo.

The prejudices of the jews againſt the doctrines of the goſpel, reſpected its ſpirituality and its morality, and other circumſtances of the like ſort. But the ſcribes and phariſees were moved from perſonal conſiderations of anger and intereſt, having been repeatedly reproved by Chriſt, and having their own ſyſtem to ſupport in their own defence.

When it is obſerved by our author, that "the jews are not able to give any reaſon why they acknowledge the law of Moſes to be a divine revelation, which will not directly, and more ſtrongly eſtabliſh the truth and authority of the goſpel," many chriſtians, being more taken with the flattering turn of the remark, than ſtudious to inquire whether it can be univerſally ſupported, will be ready to

to concur with him. And beſides, it is, generally ſpeaking, much more eaſy and expeditious to cut a knot than to untie it. But the truth is, that ſo long as the doctrine of the trinity is conſidered as conſtituting any part of chriſtianity, as it does of certain eſtabliſhed churches; or indeed ſo long as Jeſus Chriſt is elevated above the perſon and character he declared himſelf to be, the jews will never acknowledge him to the meſſiah; the difficulties recur again and again, and are inſurmountable. Until the chriſtian faith is tendered to the underſtandings of men, in its original ſimplicity and luſtre, it is hoping againſt hope to entertain any expectation of the converſion of jew, or turk, or infidel.

The rejection of the chriſtian revelation by the gentiles was occaſioned by ſome things in common with the jews, ſuch as a great corruption of manners, prejudice of education, the temporal inconveniences which attended the profeſſion of chriſtianity, and the temporal advantages which might be ſecured or obtained by rejecting or oppoſing it; and by ſome things

peculiar to themſelves, ſuch as the opinions of the philoſophers; the ill uſage of the emperors Trajan, Titus, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius, from whom better things might have been expected; a great careleſsneſs and indifference about all religion in general; and even the bad opinion which many of them had of the jews; the novelty of the chriſtian religion, its plainneſs and ſimplicity, and becauſe it rejected all gods but one.*

THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL is the ſubject of the *ſecond* diſcourſe; and in this inquiry, the ſwift and ſucceſsful progreſs of it in the converſion of the gentiles, and the aſſiſtance it received from miracles; the difficulties ariſing from ſuperſtition and prejudice of education, and the low circumſtances

* This indeed appears to be the true ſtate of the caſe, for the chriſtian ſcriptures ſpeak of no other than one God, and the chriſtians of the three firſt centuries acknowledged no other beſides him. Thus, while the jews falſely imputed to the chriſtians the worſhip of more gods than one, and therefore rejected their faith; the polytheiſm of the heathens was offended becauſe they really worſhipped only ONE GOD, THE CREATOR AND GOVERNOR OF THE WORLD.

ſtances of its teachers; the different nations and ranks of people who received it; the few indulgences it afforded; the vicious characters of the gentiles, and the perſecution which attended its promulgation, are fairly ſtated and conſidered.

So likewiſe are the circumſtances which contributed to its eſtabliſhment, ſuch as, the prophecies concerning the calling of the gentiles and the miracles wrought by chriſtians; the conformity between the theological doctrines of revealed religion, and the opinion of ſome, or other, of the wiſer gentiles in various ages and places; the precepts of chriſtianity being for the moſt part agreeable to the doctrines which ſome of the beſt pagan authors had delivered; the number of gentiles who were proſelytes to the jewiſh religion ſo far, that they worſhipped the God of Iſrael, and renounced the follies and vices of paganiſm; the importance of the truths contained in the goſpel; the amiable character of the apoſtles and the chriſtians of that age; and alſo its being a diſpenſation, every way, highly worthy of him from

whom it proceeded, and as ſuitable to thoſe to whom it was offered,—which are all ſo many circumſtances that contributed to its eſtabliſhment, and ſo many teſtimonies of its excellence.

The *third* diſcourſe treats of THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST, in which is conſidered the commencement and duration of it; and the particular characters which ſhould diſtinguiſh it from all others.

The kingdom which our lord is ſuppoſed by ſome, (and among theſe by our author,) to have had from the beginning, as he was the word, or ſon, of God, and the perſon by whom God made all things, is paſſed over with only mentioning it. Indeed, this ſimple recital of what is more than diſputed by many chriſtians, is ſufficient.* The commencement of this kingdom, in the ſenſe in which he is now conſidering it, is commonly ſtated to have been

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's very excellent "Explanation of St. Paul's doctrine concerning the creation of all things by Jeſus Chriſt;" in "Commentaries and Eſſays," vol. ii. p. 9---14.

been from his aſcenſion into heaven; but Mr. Jortin is more diſpoſed to date it from his birth, and is confirmed therein by ſome circumſtances of his life.*

But, it is of more importance to us rightly to apprehend the nature of his kingdom, than the preciſe time of its commencement. "His kingdom was not like the kingdoms of this world, as he declared to Pilate; it was not erected in oppoſition to the Roman, or to any other human government. This is that good confeſſion (ſays Mr. Jortin), which, as St. Paul obſerves, he witneſſed before Pontius Pilate."

With reſpect to what our lord ſays of "the glory which he had with his father before the world was; (John xvii. 5.) and which Mr. Jortin does not fail to refer to, as indeed it is the great ſheet anchor of arianiſm, it muſt ſuffice to obſerve, that it has been ſhewn and demonſtrated, as Lardner ſays,

 that

* See, however, a tract on this ſubject in the Theological repoſitory, (vol. vi. p. 244—284.) ſubſcribed IDIOTA, where the writer treats the eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's kingdom, as an event ſtill *future*.

that this prayer of Chriſt " may very well be underſtood, according to the jewiſh phraſeology, of the glory always deſigned for the Chriſt by the immutable purpoſe of God. And, that our lord had not, before his nativity, the glory, which he here prays for, is apparent from the whole tenor of the goſpel, and from clear and manifeſt expreſſions in the context.*"

The principal characters of Chriſt's kingdom are that it was not eſtabliſhed like earthly kingdoms, by human policy and human force, but was to be erected in the hearts, and over the conſciences, of men; that it would be univerſal; and that it would be a kingdom of righteouſneſs and peace.

Concerning the completion of theſe prophecies, there ariſes a difficulty, when we compare the predictions with the event. He, therefore,

* See Dr. Lardner's " Letter on the logos," in the eleventh volume of his works, edit. 1788, p. 91 and 92. Cardale's " True doctrine of the new Teſtament," 2d edit. 1771. p. 89. and his " Comment on Chriſt's prayer," p. 72---104. Lindſey's " Sequel," p. 239-- 259. his " Hiſtorical view," p. 225---227. and his " Examination of Robinſon's plea," p. 162---164.

therefore, ſtates the objections fully, though briefly, and then proceeds to the ſolution of them.

It being alſo propheſied, in connection with the aforeſaid characters of his kingdom, that he ſhould be a conqueror, a proſperous and victorious king, who ſhould ſubdue all his enemies; many acts as of regal authority are enumerated, anſwering to ſuch deſcriptions, and which have had their ſignal completion.

"We are taught," ſays our author, "to pray daily that the kingdom of God, or of Chriſt, may come; in which words we pray that the goſpel of Chriſt may flouriſh more and more, and that the number of his ſervants may increaſe continually. But to pray for this," adds he, "is not enough; we cannot indeed pray for it with any ſincerity, unleſs we uſe our beſt endeavours to accompliſh theſe pious wiſhes."

The *fourth* diſcourſe is upon THE FITNESS OF THE TIME WHEN CHRIST CAME INTO THE WORLD. An event which correſponded with the prophecies of Daniel, Haggai, and Malachi. As to the fitneſs of time

time in other reſpects, " the ſcriptures," he obſerves, " ſay little; and we can only offer conjectures, which ought to have no more authority than they are found, upon examination, to have of probability."

The arguments here offered are as judicious in themſelves, as they are modeſtly ſuggeſted. (1) That our lord came when men had been prepared by a long ſeries of prophecies to expect and receive him: (2.) When the jews wanted the meſſias as a moral inſtructor: (3) When religion and morality were univerſally corrupted and greatly wanted reformation: (4.) When knowledge was conſiderably increaſed among the heathens, though they were greatly corrupted in their lives. For truth and learning are friends; error and impoſture flouriſh under the protection of ignorance. (5.) At the time when our lord came, the inſufficiency of the jewiſh religion, of ancient tradition, and of philoſophy, fully appeared. And, laſtly, " when our lord came, the moſt civilized and the moſt populous parts of Europe and Aſia were under one government, and ruled by common

common laws which in the main were juſt and good, the times were more quiet and happy than they had been, commerce flouriſhed, and travelling was made eaſy and ſafe; and this ſtate of things was favourable to chriſtianity, and afforded opportunities to lay the foundation of it, and to ſpread it ſpeedily and effectually."*

THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, being one of the proofs of our lord's miſſion which were appealed to by himſelf, is here conſidered ſeparately in the *fifth* diſcourſe. The general prophecies concerning Chriſt were ſo deſcriptive of him, and no other, that, as our author ſhrewdly obſerves, "whoever can aſcribe the fulfilment of them to *chance*, ought not to object credulity to chriſtians."

* So much of theſe arguments as relate to the circumſtances of the Roman empire being favorable to the riſe and ſpread of chriſtianity, are further conſidered in the firſt pages of the firſt volume of "Remarks on E. H." And there is an excellent ſermon on "the ſituation of the world at the time of Chriſt's appearance, and its connection with the ſucceſs of religion;" preached 1755, by Dr. Robertſon of Edinburgh, and republiſhed in "the Scotch preacher," vol. i. ſerm. iv.

chriſtians." But the evidence of miracles, prophecy, and his own fore-knowledge of future events, being elſewhere diſcuſſed, Mr. Jortin here examines apart the teſtimony of John. And, that he was an unexceptionable witneſs, appears no leſs from the teſtimony itſelf which he bare of Jeſus Chriſt, than from the account of the life and character of the baptiſt. Theſe are candidly ſtated, as is alſo the objection which is ſometimes made to the competency of his evidence, on account of the meſſage which he ſent by his diſciples when he was in priſon, to inquire of our lord himſelf, whether he was "he that was to come, or they were to look for another?" Several judicious interpretations of this paſſage, (Luke vii. 19.) are exhibited, which make the account recorded by the evangeliſt, perfectly conſiſtent with the credit of the baptiſt *.

The

* The teſtimony of John the baptiſt is more largely conſidered in a valuable publication upon the ſubject, by Dr. Bell, prebendary of Weſtminſter, entitled, "An enquiry into the divine miſſion of John the baptiſt, and Jeſus Chriſt." 8vo. 1761. It cannot be denied to the very ingenious

The *fixth* diſcourſe contains a ſeries of obſervations which relate to the truth, the importance, and the authority of the ſcriptures of the new Teſtament, which are conſidered pretty much at large, as the nature of the general obſervation requires. (1) That the books of the new Teſtament were written by thoſe to whom they are aſcribed, that is, by apoſtles, or by believers who converſed with the apoſtles: (2) that the main parts of the chriſtian religion, at leaſt enough to eſtabliſh its truth, may be found in almoſt each ſingle book or treatiſe contained in the new Teſtament: (3) that the books of the new Teſtament deſcended to us uncorrupted in any thing material: (4) that the truth of the things contained in theſe books depends upon the integrity of the apoſtles, who did and ſuffered ſo much for the ſake of the goſpel: (5) that there never was a book which abounded more with internal proofs of

genious author that he hath ſucceeded in his hopes of ſerving the chriſtian religion by "adding another motive to the power of its influence, and another ray to the ſplendor of its evidence."

of the truth of its contents than the new Teſtament: (6) that if we ſhould ſuppoſe that the writers of the new Teſtament had no extraordinary aſſiſtance from God in compoſing their books and epiſtles, the prophetic parts excepted, the truth of the chriſtian religion in general might ſtill be proved; there would ſtill be ſufficient evidence that Chriſt came from God to teach men to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and piouſly, that he wrought miracles, that he died and roſe again, that his apoſtles received ſupernatural powers by which they were enabled to propagate the goſpel: (7) that admitting the ſcriptures are often obſcure and difficult, occaſioned by the ſubject or the ſtyle, or by ſuch difficulties as are common to all books, which are very ancient and written in dead languages; yet many parts are clear, and particularly thoſe which relate to morality, and to practical religion.

THE GOSPEL CONSIDERED AS IT IS GRACE AND TRUTH, is the ſubject of the *ſeventh* and *laſt* diſcourſe of this volume. "The word GRACE, in its moſt obvious acceptation,

acceptation, means favor, favor flowing from mercy and beneficence, to which the perſon who receives it can make no claim, as of right. In this ſenſe, the goſpel is moſt particularly and emphatically GRACE in all and every part of it, it is a gift of God which we could not in any manner be ſaid to deſerve. The goſpel is alſo GRACE as it promiſeth to repenting ſinners not only an exemption from puniſhment, but a reſurrection to eternal happineſs." And, further, " as it promiſes us, if we humbly and ſincerely deſire it, the divine aſſiſtance, which ſhall comfort us in afflictions and ſupport us under temptations, and enable us to work out our ſalvation, and to paſs ſafely through this ſtate of trial to a ſtate of happineſs. The goſpel may be called GRACE with reſpect to the manner in which it was revealed. So alſo, as it contains righteous and equitable laws: and as it is a gift offered to all, an invitation from which none are excluded."

" Grace, in ſome places of the new Teſtament, means thoſe extraordinary powers which were conferred upon the apoſtles and

firſt

firſt believers; and ſometimes means goodneſs or moral virtue. In the former ſenſe, it was exerciſed in the promulgation of chriſtianity; in the latter, the goſpel is grace, as it ſets morality in a clear light, and enforces the practice of it, by the beſt and moſt effectual motives.

The doctrine of future puniſhments contained in the goſpel, has been objected againſt the goſpel, as it is GRACE; Mr. Jortin has ſtated this objection, and anſwered it with clearneſs and conciſeneſs.

The goſpel is called TRUTH, in oppoſition to the falſehood of paganiſm; and as it is the accompliſhment of the prophecies of future favors made under the law. It is alſo the TRUTH in oppoſition to the jewiſh diſpenſation, as it is the ſubſtance and reality of all thoſe things which are figured by the law; or as they were mere ſhadows compared to that ſolid, and ſubſtantial truth which Chriſt has diſcovered to us.

In the inquiry into the truth of the goſpel, oppoſed to the falſehood of paganiſm, our author has diſplayed much ſound learning,

and

and made many fine remarks on the being of God, his unity, his excellence and goodneſs; and on the clear knowledge of a future ſtate.

Mr. Warburton, then preacher at Lincoln's Inn, engaged Mr. Jortin, in the year 1747, to aſſiſt him occaſionally at the chapel there, and he continued his aſſiſtant about three years,

Upon the tranſlation of Dr. Matthew Hutton from the ſee of Bangor to the archbiſhopric of York, Dr. Zachary Pearce was appointed to ſucceed him. Dr. Pearce requeſted Mr. Jortin to preach the ſermon at his conſecration in the pariſh church of Kenſington on February 21, 1747; which was afterwards publiſhed, with the uſual authoritative mandate prefixed, jussu superiorum. The preacher's text was taken from Hebrews x. 25.—exhorting one another; and he principally treated of the nature of affection and exhortation, and their mutual dependance on each other. In a dedication to the newly conſecrated biſhop, our author profeſſes, from a principle of grati-

tude, his intention only " to pay debts, as far as they may be paid, by owning them, and not to attempt any thing that looks like commendation and praiſe. I leave that" ſays he, " to LONGINUS and to CICERO." In the ſermon he appears alſo to be in a ſtrait reſpecting his friend, but, at the ſame time, ventures ſo far as ſufficiently to excuſe his advancing any farther. " Shall I proceed," ſays he, " to ſpeak more particularly concerning the perſon now appointed to the epiſcopal function? Inclination draws that way, and words preſent themſelves unſought, and it is a pleaſure to utter them, when the heart and the tongue conſpire together, and truth guides them both. But the cenſorious would pronounce it flattery, and the ſevere would call it injudicious gratitude. It is better to be ſilent than to be ſuſpected of offering what is not fit for the one to give, and the other to receive."

The notice he takes of the patronage of learning may be ſuppoſed to look two ways at once; it may be conſidered as exhibiting a double proof of his obſervation in the contraſted

traſted ſituation of biſhop Pearce and of the preacher, who was then and for many years after, very ſparingly provided for. " One thing, only," ſays he, " give me leave to add, for I cannot decently ſtifle it, in favor of our own times, that learning,---learning, which has made a man paſs for a magician, for a heretic, and for a fool, and has been often obſerved to be a ſymptom of poverty,--- is no diſqualification or impediment, but rather a credit and a recommendation. It has ſome friends and favourers even amongſt the great, and it has no enemy except envy, which pilfers and purloins a ſmall matter from an eſtabliſhed character; a moderate tax upon ſuperior abilities, and a loſs which is ſcarcely felt.

" It would be an unpardonable omiſſion," continues he, " in one who has had a liberal education, not to lay hold of this occaſion, and proceed to ſay ſomething in behalf of literature. He who cannot reward it, ought at leaſt to recommend it to thoſe who can, and exhort and admoniſh them that they would cheriſh and protect it, even for their

own ſake. We are naturally diſpoſed to ſeek and to value reputation; reputation and praiſe are a recompenſe which our ſaviour himſelf with his own ſacred mouth conferred upon a generous action. *Whereſoever*, ſays he, *this goſpel ſhall be preached in the whole world, there ſhall alſo this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.* There is no ſurer way for men to obtain it, than by patroniſing letters, arts, and ſciences; for theſe are always grateful, and both willing and able to tranſmit the names of their friends to the lateſt generations. They who are not to be moved, by theſe motives, may hope for reputation, but they will reap as they ſow, and never be praiſed, except by hangers-on of their own ſtamp and capacity, or by dedicators, whoſe works uſually die before them, and who certainly will have no intereſt with poſterity."

On the recommendation of archbiſhop Herring, and biſhop Sherlock, Mr. Jortin was appointed, by the earl of Burlington, on the 26th of December 1749, preacher of the lecture founded by Mr. Boyle. An appointment

pointment, honourable from the nature of the foundation, and from the reſpectable characters of ſeveral of the clergy who had preceded him in the duties of it, and, we may alſo add, from the patronage of the noble truſtee, and the recommendation of the two prelates, at whoſe inſtance, he had received it.

Upon this occaſion, Mr. Jortin drew up a plan of his diſcourſes, under theſe four heads;

I. Remarks on the being and perfections of God, and particularly, on his impartiality, and his goodneſs.

II. The nature, uſe, and intent of prophecy, together with an examination of ſome predictions in the old and in the new Teſtament.

III. Conſiderations on miracles in general, on the miracles of Chriſt and his apoſtles, and on the ſupport which they give to the chriſtian religion.

IV. The law of Moſes and the jewiſh religion ſet in a proper light, and defended from ſome objections, ancient and modern.

The ſubſtance of his diſcourſes upon the *ſecond* and *third* head, is inſerted, as he himſelf tells us,* in the three firſt volumes of his "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory." And the reaſon of his adopting this, inſtead of the more ordinary mode of publication of ſuch diſcourſes, will be beſt underſtood from his own account of it.

"The noble and prudent donation of our chriſtian philoſopher," ſays he, "hath had ſuitable effects, and hath produced a printed collection of religious lectures, which, in the main, may be called learned and judicious, though they are not all of equal value. The ſubject is copious; but a ſucceſſion of hands will at length exhauſt the moſt copious theme, and unavoidably occaſion a repetition of the ſame thoughts and arguments, ſomewhat diverſified in method and ſtyle. This, and the preſent cool demand for printed ſermons, may induce the lecturers to content themſelves with preaching, and to abſtain from publiſhing. But yet, if the faſhion ſhould obtain, there may be reaſon to

* See Remarks on E. H. vol iii. p. 449.

to fear that, in proceſs of time, Mr. Boyle's will have the ſame fate (though they deſerve a better) with ſome other lectures, and become mere wall-lectures, and diſcourſes calculated to exiſt for half an hour. Between the two methods of publiſhing all or none, there ſeems to be a third, by which the diſcourſes being ſtripped of every thing popular, trite, and redundant, may be thrown into the more learned and the more contracted form of DISSERTATION. This is the method which the author hath attempted, and which he takes the liberty to mention: not pretending in the leaſt to dictate, and to preſcribe laws, or even to offer advice to his ſucceſſors; but only to make an apology for his own conduct, and to inform the public, which hath a right to aſk and to know, how he hath endeavoured to execute a truſt of a public nature committed to his care."*

The mutual friendſhip between Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin continued after their connection at Lincoln's Inn chapel had ceaſed; inſomuch, that the former announced, in the

* See Remarks on E. H. vol. iii. p. 449. and 450.

ſecond edition of his JULIAN, the ſpeedy publication of his " learned friend Mr. Jortin's curious diſſertations on eccleſiaſtical antiquity; compoſed, like his life, not in the ſpirit of controverſy, nor, what is ſtill worſe, of party, but of truth and candor."*

It were almoſt needleſs to hint that there is more good temper in this ſhort, but ingenuous teſtimony, than uſually eſcaped from the pen of Mr. Warburton, ſave when he was employed in decorating certain ſubalterns who retained themſelves under his banner. And indeed being ſupported, in the truth and juſtice of the obſervation from the matter of fact, this friendly teſtimony derived equal credit upon both parties. The circumſtances of Mr. Warburton's *foreman* being a few years afterwards retained to attack a man whoſe life was known and acknowledged to be " truth and candor;" and to open hoſtilities in the way of controverſy and indelicate irony, is one, among the many deplorable inconſiſtencies in the characters of ſome men, from whom

* See Warburton's " Julian," 2d edit. 1751. p. 316, note.

whom a more juſt and honourable behaviour, to ſay the leaſt, might have been expected.

Mr. Warburton's favorable notification of the forwardneſs of the "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory," was very ſoon followed by the publication of the firſt volume, early in the year 1751; and however ſanguine may have been the expectations of the friends of Mr. Jortin, they were not diſappointed.

The deſign of this work will be beſt expreſſed in our author's own words; for we may admit him to be the proper judge of his intention, reſerving nevertheleſs to ourſelves the right of uſing our own judgment upon the execution of the plan.

"What is here offered," ſays he, "to the public is not a regular treatiſe, but only a collection of detached remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and ancient writers, in which the order of the time is neither ſtrictly obſerved, nor greatly neglected, and no anxious accuracy is beſtowed upon the dates of years. This is a neceſſary premonition to the reader, who elſe would ſeek what he will not find.

"Yet

" Yet was it deſigned, ſlight and imperfect as it is, for the ſervice of TRUTH, by one who would be glad to attend and grace her triumphs; as her ſoldier, if he has had the honor to ſerve ſucceſsfully under her banners, or as a captive tied to her chariot-wheels, if he has, though undeſignedly, committed any offence againſt her.

" The intention of this work is to produce ſuch evidence as may ſupport and confirm the truth of chriſtianity, and ſhew that the providence of God has appeared in its eſtabliſhment and in its preſervation; to avoid peremptory deciſions on ſome lately controverted queſtions, and to ſeek out a way between the extremes; not to pronounce thoſe things falſe which may perhaps be true, nor thoſe things probable which are ambiguous; and to try the experiment whether by this method a reader may not be gently led to grant all that is required of him, and rather more than leſs; to ſet before men ſome of the virtues, as well as failings, of the ancient chriſtians, whence they may draw ſome practical inferences; to excite in their hearts a love for chriſtianity, that

that beſt gift of heaven to mankind, and a reſpect, though not a ſuperſtitious veneration, for thoſe good men, who, if they could not diſpute for it altogether ſo well as the preſent generation, yet, which is more, could die for it; to reject thoſe trifles which perſons of greater zeal than diſcernment would obtrude upon the world as golden reliques of primitive chriſtianity; and to add ſeveral things of a miſcellaneous and philological kind, which will ſerve, at leaſt, to diverſify the ſubject. Such is the intention of the work: may it atone for its defects."

But, it was not to be expected that any apology would ſcreen a writer from the diſpleaſure and reſentment of his eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors of a certain deſcription, and in certain ſituations, who ſhould obſerve that " as ſoon as chriſtian ſocieties began, debates began, and as ſoon as chriſtianity was by law eſtabliſhed, debates grew violent;"----who ſhould expoſe the miſconduct and ill conſequences of councils, " which ſometimes met ſo frequently, (as is obſerved,) that they might be called quarter ſeſſions as well as councils,"---

councils ;"—who ſhould reprobate all ideas of effecting unity by compulſion, and unfold the nature of that charity which is made the pretence for perſecution ;—who ſhould vindicate the freedom of the human underſtanding, and contemn the envious and poiſonous ſhafts of theological enmity and hatred ;—who ſhould declare the uncertainty of the popular meaning of the word "herefy ;" and who ſhould tell the world of the more ſecret, but no leſs malignant, perſecutions effected in ſilence.

The difficulties which attend the defence of thoſe religious fortreſſes of human device, which claim connection with, and even make pretenſions of being derived from the goſpel, have been frequently felt and are very obſervable; and the cauſe of revelation has greatly ſuffered from being committed to the care, not ſo much of inexpert engineers, as of able men incumbered and borne down by the heavy and unwieldy armour of civil eſtabliſhments in religion.* Nevertheleſs, whatever member of

* "As the oppoſers of the goſpel have frequently had recourſe to arguments *ad hominem*, and have taken advantage

of the eſtabliſhed church ſhall complain of the burden of his accoutrements, is preſently conſidered as willingly admitting the adverſary into the citadel; and though he ſhall have maintained the cauſe of our common chriſtianity with equal honor and ſucceſs in many a well fought battle againſt an hoſt of enemies, is conſigned to ſeek his reward in the conſolation of his own mind; even ſo far is he from being promoted to the ſtaff, that he is ſeldom ſuffered to retire from the ſervice without a reprimand from a board of general officers.

" What is to be done," ſays the prefacer, " with one who is, or who is accounted or whiſpered to be erroneous? Why, DISTINGUENDUM

tage from modern ſyſtems, and from the writings of divines of this or that perſuaſion; ſo the defenders of revelation have often found themſelves under a neceſſity of reducing things to the venerable chriſtianity of the new Teſtament, and of adventuring no farther; and of declining the reſt as not eſſential to the cauſe, and to the controverſy." Preface. p. xxxv and xxxvi. The obſtinacy and violence of certain theologians are elſewhere well marked; " the hoary heads of ſome perſons," ſays he, " are like mount Ætna, where the ſnow and fire dwell together in ſtrict friendſhip." " Remarks on E. H." vol. i. p. 351.

GUENDUM EST: you muſt not ſhed his blood, nor enrich yourſelf with his ſpoils; but you may contrive other ways to bring him to a right mind, or to beggary: ways, which reſemble the method of Italian aſſaſſins, to beat a man with ſatchells of ſand: no blood is ſhed, and no bones are broken, but the patient dies by the operation."

The tribute which our author pays to the two univerſities, is the grateful acknowledgment of one who drank deep at the fountain head; and as there are thouſands who will join in the prayer, and feel the flame and ardor of younger days rekindle in their hearts and memories, we may be excuſed in reciting it. "Happy is it, that the pious and judicious liberality of our anceſtors founded and endowed thoſe two noble ſeminaries, which have been our beſt ſecurity againſt ignorance, ſuperſtition, and infidelity.

ESTOTE PERPETUÆ!

An agreeable remembrance of former days preſents itſelf,

nec me meminiſſe pigebit alumnæ,
Dum memor ipſe mei, dum ſpiritus hos regit artus.

But

" But let us do juſtice to the theological merits and uſeful labours of perſons of another denomination in this country, of whom *Qui tales ſunt, utinam eſſent noſtri.*"

Here, alas! the ground is changed between our author, and the writer of the preſent page, who, if he may be permitted to ſpeak for himſelf and ſome of his friends, (who are unſhaken by the blowing of adverſe winds, and untainted with the infectious air of injuſtice and intolerance,) have ſeceded from the profeſſion of the ſyſtem of religion eſtabliſhed in this country, with ſentiments of general reſpect for the perſons of thoſe whom they have left behind them, and with affectionate eſteem for many honoured characters among them.—But, without the idle deſire of accumulating numbers of proſelytes, who are not thoroughly convinced of the truth of their principles and the rectitude of ſuch a conduct in men ſo perſuaded, they may be allowed to lament, when they look around them, that " political palſy in the head, which nods and aſſents to all;" and, in a warm but temperate zeal for their cauſe, which they conſider

conſider as the cauſe of God, and in the fervor of affectionate diſpoſitions towards thoſe with whom they were connected by education,—to exclaim in their turn, *Qui tales ſunt, utinam eſſent noſtri.*

But, while we agree in giving praiſe to "the pious and judicious liberality of our anceſtors" in their foundation of our univerſities, our veneration for antiquity will no more oblige us to commend the darkneſs which overſpread the period of their inſtitution, in preference to the advanced ſtate of knowledge in which they are preſented to us, than our reverence for truth will ſuffer us to rejoice in the very limited ſyſtem of education they continue to adopt. We are, in common with many others, grieved at the devaſtations which are reported to be made among our youth by the luxury and diſſipation of the age; nor ſhould we ſtand alone, if we were here to expreſs our deep concern at the tenacious withholding and ſuppreſſion of all rational acquaintance with the chriſtian ſcriptures, by adhering to the obſolete and exploded ſyſtems of human device, with a pertinacity unbecoming

coming inſtitutions founded for the acquiſition and improvement of knowledge and learning, which are obviouſly progreſſive as well in all bodies of men, as in individuals.*

In

* In the St. James's Chronicle of Nov. 5, 1785, appeared an advertiſement, dated from Cambridge the firſt of that month, and which, for any thing I know to the contrary, may be repeated annually. It announced that "the late Mr. Norris having left twelve pounds a year for a medal and ſome books, as a premium for the beſt proſe engliſh eſſay on ſubjects appointed agreeably to the directions contained in his will." The Norriſſian profeſſor gave notice, that the ſubject for that year was one of thoſe mentioned by Mr. Norris, viz. *The goodneſs of God as manifeſted in the miſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.* The advertiſement ſtated alſo the previous conditions to be obſerved, and the ſubſequent publication of the eſſay to which the prize ſhould be adjudged: it next preſented us with a caution, not very unlike the common one, when an honeſt man has loſt, or been robbed of, a bank note,—that "payment is ſtopped at the bank." But to be ſerious; the caution to the candidates contained a reſtriction which would more than have juſtified the curators of the honor of the univerſity in refuſing to accept the legacy. The words were;—"Any opinion advanced in the eſſay of a candidate for this prize, contrary (in the eſtimation of the appointed judges, viz. the maſter of Trinity, the provoſt of King's and the maſter of Caius colleges,)

In agreement, however, with the general declaration of our author that he "enters into no particulars," it may be as well, in part, to follow his example for the preſent: and yet he ſo frequently hints at things and perſons, with ſuch diſcriminating traits of character, that there is no miſtaking the quarter to which his eye is directed. In theſe caſes, a very ordinary ſhare of curioſity will excite a deſire to be introduced to the perſons with whom

colleges,) to the articles of the church of England with reſpect to our ſaviour's divinity, and the perſonality of the holy ſpirit, is to diſqualify ſuch candidate." Theſe conditions appear diſgraceful, upon the very face of them, to the parties who have accepted the truſt and adjudication of the prize upon terms, which preclude all further light and information being thrown upon eſtabliſhed opinions, and will, in the end, prove fatal to the bequeſt. It may not be long before the legacy may lapſe for want of a properly qualified candidate. For, at this inſtant, few can preſent themſelves, but in a ſomewhat queſtionable ſhape. But it may be ſaid, that the will only concerns itſelf with the eſſay, not with the eſſayiſt. This is very true, but from the caſt of the reſtriction, it will moſt probably introduce a little ſhuffling, or a little ſtifling. It had been more like workmen to have followed the example of a provincial ſynod in France in 1612, which compelled all who ſhould go

whom our author was in company, and whoſe character he ſo well knew: and although they ſhall not, all of them, acquit themſelves with equal approbation, it only remains for us to behave to them, as their reſpective deſerts ſhall merit at our hands.

It muſt now ſuffice to recommend to every reader, an attentive peruſal of the preface before us; the chriſtian, the proteſtant, and the philoſopher will find in it much to com-

 mend,

go into orders to take an oath, not only of approbation "of "all that was contained in the confeſſion of faith of the "reformed churches of that nation," but of promiſe "to "perſeveré therein to their life's end, and never to believe "or teach any thing not conformable to it." A ſimilar oath was again injoined in the ſame kingdom, 1620. (See preface to Remarks on E. H. p. xvii. and xviii.) I was going to recommend the trial of ſome correſponding meaſure, but the effect of ſuch expedients has not been the preſervation of the belief of the catholic faith, but the ſpread of infidelity; and France promiſes to ſet us a better example of reformation. In the mean time, the parties intruſted with the execution of the will of Mr. Norris, would do well to conſider the very humiliating appearance they make in their advertiſement, and reſcue the reputation of the univerſity of Cambridge, by ſuch means as they ſhall think moſt honorable to ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſeminary of learning and ſcience.

mend, little to correct, and nothing to blame. If the bigot ſhould beſtow his attention upon the ſame pages, and be led, by any thing he ſhall find there, to take to himſelf the ſhame and confuſion that belong to him, he will have reaſon to be thankful, and ought to acknowledge his obligation. Nevertheleſs, great was the cry raiſed againſt this preface by churchmen of a certain complexion, at the time of its firſt publication; and it was meditated by ſome of them to cloſe the ſtorm with the harraſs and wreck of a legal proſecution. And I have been very credibly informed that the failure of this *pious* deſign, was finally owing to a want of matter in the offenſive pages, whereon to faſten the vulture's talons, not to any diſpoſition in the clamorous and enraged complainants to come to terms of friendly accommodation. The better ſpirit of the times did not, however, ſuffer Mr. Jortin to fall a victim to the untempered fury of thoſe "foxes which lodged ſafely at the root of the tree, or of thoſe birds of ill omen which ſcreamed in its branches." But his more fortunate eſcape does not invalidate an obſervation

obſervation of his own, that " the groundleſs ſurmiſes of a booby, or of a bigot, have hurt many a man of ſenſe, and qualified him to be regiſtered in an appendix to PIERIUS DE INFELICITATE LITERATORUM."

If there be a queſtion undecided concerning this juſtly celebrated preface, it is, whether the pleaſure it has given to liberal minded chriſtians of various denominations, or the better temper which zealots have inſenſibly derived from reading it, be the greateſt.

But it is now time to proceed to give ſome account of the firſt volume of the " Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory," to which this memorable preface is prefixed.

The Remarks are generally profeſſed by the author to be " intended, in ſome meaſure, as a ſupplement to his Diſcourſes on the truth of the chriſtian religion." They are accordingly opened (1) with ſome conſiderations on the time when chriſtianity made its appearance,* particularly with reſpect to ſuch things " as had a tendency to wean the pagans by ſlow degrees from their attachment to idolatry,

* See before p. 43.

and to facilitate the worſhip of the one God and father of all,† who by his ſon, or his word, reconciled to himſelf and inſtructed mankind, and by his ſpirit aſſiſted virtuous minds in their progreſs to wiſdom and happineſs, as a religion more ſimple, and noble, and

† Notwithſtanding Mr. profeſſor White's diſtaſte towards the unitarians of his own country, and his reproachfully uniting them with mahometans, in his Bampton lectures, (for which he has been repeatedly reproved, and, without any apparent effect, challenged to a further diſcuſſion of the ſubject,*) he has not ſcrupled, in another publication to connect himſelf with the mahometans, ſo far as he conceives them to be right, and very juſtly conſiders their not being involved in the darkneſs of idolatry, but believing in ONE GOD, as the moſt probable means of facilitating their converſion to chriſtianity. See his Sermon preached before the univerſity of Oxford July 4, 1784. on the duty of attempting the propagation of the goſpel among our mahometan and gentoo ſubjects in India. p. 32. and 33. or the laſt

* [See preface to an "Examination of Robinſon's Plea for the divinity of Chriſt." Toulmin's ſecond appendix to his "Diſſertation on the internal evidences and excellence of chriſtianity;" and by Dr. Prieſtley in his animadverſions on ſome paſſages in Mr. White's Sermons, added to his ſermon "on the importance and extent of free inquiry in matters of religion;" preached Nov. 5. 1785.]

and philoſophical, and reaſonable, than paganiſm."

He has (11.) ſome ſhort general obſervations on the demoniacs, and is inclined to conſider the diſtemper with which the unhappy perſon

 was

laſt edit. of his Bampton lecture ſermons, to which it is added, p. 496. "For the propagation of the goſpel in the Eaſt many inducements and advantages are held out to us, which the ſavage condition of the indians of America does not afford. The mahometans are an immenſe body of men, natives of populous and mighty empires, greatly exceeding in population the kingdoms of chriſtendom, and almoſt entirely occupying one quarter of the habitable globe. They are the ſubjects of regulated ſtates; they are the obſervers of eſtabliſhed laws; civilized by the intercourſe of agriculture and commerce, and poliſhed by the uſe of letters and of arts. They are neither involved in the impiety of atheiſm, nor the darkneſs of idolatry; and their religion, falſe as it is, has many articles of belief in common with our own: which will facilitate our labours in diffuſing the true faith, and diſpoſe them to receive it. They believe in ONE GOD, creator and lord of all; to whom they attribute infinite power, juſtice, and mercy. They hold the immortality of the ſoul; and expect a future judgment, a heaven and a hell; they acknowledge an univerſal deluge; they honour the patriarch Abraham as the firſt author of their religion; they acknowledge Moſes and Chriſt to have been great prophets, and allow the pentateuch and the goſpel to be ſacred books."

was afflicted, as ſupernatural, and to account for the operation of evil ſpirits. The ſubjects, however, are ſo ſlightly treated here, that his own opinion is barely to be diſcovered; and it would be to extend the comment beyond the text, to ſay more than to mention them. The examination of the firſt miracle after the aſcenſion of Chriſt, namely, the gift of tongues, is more elaborate and more ſatisfactory.

The prophecy concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem is next examined at large, (III.) and is accompanied by ſome remarks on this part of the ſubject communicated to him by Dr. Zachary Pearce, then biſhop of Bangor, in explanation of ſome parts of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew; theſe are now to be found in the notes of that learned prelate's "Commentary on the four evangeliſts," though ſomewhat varied and a good deal diſperſed. It is very juſtly obſerved by biſhop Watſon that Mr. Jortin "has well proved, not only that the goſpels, in which the predictions of Chriſt relative to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem are delivered, were written before

that

that event, but that the predictions themſelves could not have been inſerted into the goſpels, as interpolations after the event; the reader will not eſteem this to have been an unneceſſary labor," adds he, " who recollects the confidence with which Voltaire, with a view probably of evading the force of the argument in queſtion, declares, that the goſpels were written after Jeruſalem was deſtroyed."*

Mr. Jortin goes on (IV.) to conſider the ſubject of prophecy in general, and obſerves that " the uſes of prophecy, beſides gradually opening and unfolding the things relating to the meſſias, and the bleſſings which by him ſhould be conferred upon mankind, are many, and great, and manifeſt. (1.) It ſerved, ſays he, to ſecure the belief of a God and of a providence. (2) It was intended to give men the profoundeſt veneration for that amazing knowledge from which nothing was concealed, not even the future actions of creatures, and the things which as yet were not. How could a man hope to hide any counſel, any deſign,

* See biſhop Watſon's " Collection of tracts," vol. v. p. iv. of the account of the contents.

deſign, or thought from ſuch a being? (3.) It contributed to keep up devotion and true religion, the religion of the heart, which conſiſts partly in entertaining juſt and honourable notions of God and of his perfections, and which is a more rational and a more acceptable ſervice than rites and ceremonies. (4.) It excited men to rely upon God, and to love him, who condeſcended to hold this mutual intercourſe with his creatures and to permit them to conſult him, as one friend aſks advice of another. (5.) It was intended to keep the people to whom God revealed himſelf, from idolatry, a ſin to which the jews would be inclined, both from the diſpoſition to it which they had acquired in Ægypt, and from the contagion of bad example."

But he alſo makes it a ſubject of inquiry, and owns it to be "a queſtion of importance, whether there has ever been in the pagan world ſuch a thing as *divination*, or the fore-knowledge of things. He conſiders the ſtrongeſt argument againſt it to be contained in Iſaiah, (XLI. and XLVIII.) where almighty God, foretelling many great events, particularly

particularly the raiſing up of Cyrus to deſtroy the Babylonian monarchy, and to deliver the jews from captivity, declares that he alone can diſcover ſuch things, and appeals to theſe predictions, as to proofs of his divinity, and evident arguments that there is no God beſides him."

" Hence," ſays Mr. Jortin, " it has been concluded that there never was ſuch a thing as fore-knowledge in the pagan world; a concluſion too large and abſolute to be inferred from the premiſes." " And ſo far he is certainly right," obſerves Mr. Taylor, " for who can ſay that God never foretold any thing to the pagans? We know, he has. But the queſtion is not, whether he hath revealed any thing to them; but whether they had any arts of divination or natural prognoſtics, that could inform them of future things. That this is the true ſtate of the queſtion, appears from Cicero himſelf. And to this the words of Iſaiah are a full and ſufficient anſwer. And accordingly we find; that neither Joſeph, nor Daniel pretended

tended to interpret the dreams of Pharoah or Nebuchadnezzar, by any ſuch arts."*

When our author remarks that Cicero has treated of the ſubject of divination in two books: in the firſt alledging all that can be ſaid for it; and in the ſecond arguing againſt it; he adds "whoſoever will examine his reaſons on both ſides, may ſee, I think, that he has not overſet all the proofs which he has offered for it." On the other hand, Mr. Taylor "allows that Cicero has not overſet all the proofs he has brought in favor of divination; but inſiſts that the reaſon was, becauſe they were many of them top-heavy, and overſet themſelves; and that Cicero did not think them worthy of a particular anſwer."†

Our author next (v.) takes up "the prophecies relating to our ſaviour, and to chriſtianity;" acknowledging that "ſome of them have a mixture of obſcurity, and that the interpretations which have been given of them are various, but that this ought to be

* See "Confuſion worſe confounded," 8vo. 1772. p. 60.
† Ibid. p. 62.

be matter, neither of wonder, nor of offence, becauſe in the nature of things, it cannot be otherwiſe."

The difficulties which attend the interpretation of theſe prophecies, he has choſen to repreſent in the words of biſhop Chandler, Vitringa, and Le Clerc, as being very competent judges: but that Jeſus was the meſſias foretold by the prophets, he ſays, appears from the following conſiderations. "The prophets ſpeak of a new and ſecond covenant, which God would make with his people. They mention, not once or twice, but very often, the converſion of the gentiles from ſuperſtition and idolatry to the worſhip of the true God; they ſpeak of four ſucceſſive empires, the laſt of which was the Roman empire, and, under this laſt empire, they ſay that a new and everlaſting kingdom ſhould be eſtabliſhed by one, to whom God ſhould give abſolute power and dominion. A great perſon was to come, who ſhould be Emmanuel, or God with us, the ſon of God, and the ſon of man, of the ſeed of Abraham, of Iſaac, and of David; born of

a virgin,

a virgin, [young woman ;*] poor and obſcure, and yet one whom David calls his lord; the lord to whom the temple belonged, the mighty god, [lord,†] a great king, an everlaſting prieſt, though not of the tribe of Levi; born at Bethlehem, a prophet like unto Moſes, but greater than Moſes; a prophet who ſhould preach to the poor and meek, and proclaim liberty to the captives, and comfort to the mourners, and heal the broken hearted; who ſhould proclaim his glory firſt and principally in the land of Zebulon and Naphthali, in Galilee of the gentiles; who ſhould have a forerunner in the ſpirit of Elias, crying in the wilderneſs, prepare ye the way of the lord; who ſhould inſtruct in a mild and peaceable manner, without wrath and contention, before the deſtruction of the temple, in which temple he ſhould be ſeen and heard; who ſhould enter into Jeruſalem meek and humble, and riding on an aſs; who ſhould work miracles

* See Dodſon's, "New Tranſlation of Iſaiah." 8vo. 1790. chap. VII. 14. and notes.

† Ibid. chap. IX. 5. and notes.

miracles more than Moſes and all the prophets, and miracles of the merciful and beneficent kind, open the eyes of the blind, and the ears of the deaf, and make the dumb to praiſe God, and the lame to leap like an hart; who, notwithſtanding all his power and goodneſs, ſhould be rejected by the greater part of the nation, to whom he ſhould be a ſtumbling block; who ſhould be deſpiſed and afflicted, a man of ſorrow, and cut off from the land of the living; who ſhould have enemies numerous, powerful, crafty, and wicked; who ſhould be accuſed by falſe witneſſes, betrayed by an intimate and particular friend, ſold for thirty pieces of ſilver, and the money given for a potter's field, when it had been flung away by the traitor, who ſhould not live long after his crime, and whoſe office ſhould be filled up by another; that his enemies ſhould uſe him contumelioufly, buffet him, and ſpit upon him, whilſt he ſhould be led like a lamb to the ſlaughter, not opening his mouth, and uttering nothing, except interceſſions for the trangreſſors; that his enemies ſhould

ſtrip

ſtrip him of his raiment, divide it amongſt themſelves, and caſt lots upon it, ſurround him, pierce his hands and his feet, mock him, and ſhake their heads at him, give him gall to eat, and vinegar to drink; that he ſhould be reduced to ſo weak and languiſhing a condition that his bones might all be counted, his heart ſhould melt within him, and his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth; that he ſhould be brought to the duſt of death, that he ſhould be pierced, and yet not one of his bones be broken, that he ſhould be laid in the ſepulchre of a rich and honorable man, none of his enemies hindering it; that he ſhould riſe again before he had ſeen corruption, and ſubdue his enemies, and aſcend into heaven, and ſit at God's right hand, and be crowned with honor and glory, and ſee his ſeed and proſper; and juſtify many, and be adored [reverenced] by kings and princes; that then Jeruſalem ſhould be made deſolate, and the jews diſperſed in all lands, and the gentiles ſhould be converted, and flow into the church. Theſe things," concludes he,

" were

" were ſaid concerning ſome perſon; and they are all applicable to Chriſt.

" The only poſſible objection," ſays he, " which can be made to theſe predictions, is, that perhaps they were written after the event;" but this is removed by conſidering the prophecies of Ezekiel concerning Ægypt,* Babylon,† and Tyre:‡ concerning Iſhmael§ and Eſau.‖

But he further remarks that " there are four ſorts of paſſages in the old Teſtament which have been applied to Chriſt. (1.) Accommodations, or ſuch paſſages of the old Teſtament, as are adapted by the writers of the new to ſomething that happened in their time, becauſe of ſome correſpondence and ſimilitude. (11) Direct prophecies which relate to Chriſt and the goſpel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other ſenſe. (111) A type, which is a rough draught

* Ezek. xxix. 15.

† Jer. l. 39. li. 26, 37, 64. Iſai. xiii. 19.

‡ Ezek. xxvi. 14---21. xxvii, 36.-xxviii, 19.

§ Gen. xvi. 11 and 12.

‖ Gen xxvii. 40.

draught, a leſs accurate pattern or model, from which a more perfect image or work is made. Types, or typical prophecies, are things which happened and were done in ancient time, and are recorded in the old Teſtament, and which are found afterwards to deſcribe or repreſent ſomething which befel our lord, and which relates to him and to his goſpel. (IV) There are prophecies of double ſenſes, which admit no more than two ſenſes, which are nearly of the ſame kind with typical prophecies, and many of which might perhaps be cleared up by obſerving that the prophet meant one thing, and the ſpirit of God, who ſpake by him, meant another thing; for the holy ſpirit ſo over-ruled the prophets as to make them uſe words which ſtrictly and rigidly interpreted could not mean what themſelves intended."*

And

* Biſhop Watſon bears honorable teſtimony to this part of our author's work; "Dr. Jortin," ſays he, "not to mention ſome learned authors who are ſtill alive, and who have written very ably on prophecy, has given us ſome very judicious obſervations, both concerning prophecy in general, and concerning a double ſenſe of ſome prophecies, in the firſt volume of his "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory." See his "Collection of tracts;" vol. iv. p. vii. of the table of contents.

And certain examples are given of ſuch paſſages as may be claſſed under theſe reſpective diſtinctions.

A compariſon is alſo drawn out into conſiderable length between Moſes and Chriſt, containing thirty nine particular inſtances, wherein their reſemblance to each other is equally diſtinguiſhable and remarkable. In the cloſe of this parallel, he draws his inference by very pertinently aſking; "Is this ſimilitude and correſpondence in ſo many things between Moſes and Chriſt the effect of mere chance? Let us ſearch all the records of univerſal hiſtory, and ſee if we can find a man who was ſo like to Moſes as Chriſt was, and ſo like to Chriſt as Moſes was. If we cannot find ſuch an one, then have we found him of whom Moſes in the law, and the prophets did write, Jeſus of Nazareth, the ſon of God."

The remaining part of the volume contains remarks on the apoſtolical conſtitutions and canons, the Sibylline oracles, and ſome paſſages from ancient poets cited by the fathers; the works of Barnabas, Clemens

Romanus, and Hermas; the Recognitions and the homilies of Clemens, the epiſtle to Diognetus, and the epiſtles of Ignatius.

Much philological learning, and many intereſting remarks deſerving of diſtinction, are interſperſed throughout the volume, but it is no part of the deſign of the preſent work to give them in detail.

It may be obſerved, however, that the apoſtolical conſtitutions "repeat it over and over, leſt chriſtians ſhould forget it, ſays our author, that a biſhop is a god, a god upon earth, and a king, and infinitely ſuperior to a king, and ruling over rulers and kings. They command chriſtians to give him tribute as to a king, and to reverence him as a god, and to pay him tithes and firſt fruits, according, ſay they, to God's command; and they ſtrictly forbid chriſtians to make any inquiry, and to take any notice, whether he diſpoſes of theſe revenues well or ill."

"Here is ſtrange language indeed," ſays the remarker, "even far beyond all *eminences* and *holineſſes*." And we may aſk, might not this reflection have been extended

to

to thoſe diſtinctions beſtowed on eccleſiaſtics on this ſide of the channel, of "*my lord*," and "*your grace?*" This would have been done with the greater propriety by Mr. Jortin, becauſe he is ſaid to have had a diſlike to the uſe of theſe forms of ſpeech, and, as I am well informed, with ſingular addreſs, avoided the frequent uſe of them, when he was in company with any of the biſhops. In this, although the rules of propriety and expedience would have borne him out, he was commendable, as an individual, in giving up a matter ſo perfectly inſignificant in itſelf, to common cuſtom and courteſy, and indeed to the preſent laws of this country.*

* There is another circumſtance, which may be conſidered as a juſt cauſe of offence, rather than a matter of mere curioſity, and, being no way connected with the lay barony appendant to a biſhopric in this country, is the leſs excuſable. All the ancient eccleſiaſtical inſtruments, even down to ſo late a period as 1733, (when all public forms and proceedings were directed by law to be written in engliſh,) we find invariably addreſſed to the archbiſhops or biſhops, in theſe words, "reverendiſſimo, (or, reverendo admodum) patri in CHRISTO." And in one inſtrument in engliſh, dated 1559, which I lately obſerved, archbiſhop Matthew

The ſame "apoſtolical conſtitutions make the validity of baptiſm to depend upon a certain form of invocation, and they ſeem to make it depend alſo upon the piety of the prieſt, which, ſays Mr. Jortin, is a hard caſe."

Theſe

Matthew Parker is ſtiled "the moſt reverend father in CHRIST." (See Nichols's Bib. Top. Brit. No. xxvii. appendix.) It ſhould, therefore, ſeem a matter of more importance than mere curioſity, to inquire how and when the preſent accuſtomed epiſcopal appellation of "father in GOD" firſt obtained. The tenure by which this title is held is certainly very ſuſpicious and queſtionable from the irregularity of its decent, and from the apparent falſification of the ancient records in which it is to be found. The indecorum of this aſſumption is the more notorious, when it is obſerved, that whenever the names of other perſons occur in ſuch, or ſimilar, inſtruments iſſuing *from* the biſhop, the addreſs adopted is the following—"dilecto nobis in CHRISTO;" which is uniformly rendered by the correſpondent engliſh expreſſion,—"to our beloved in CHRIST."

Surely this diverſity of language favours a little of eccleſiaſtical legerdemain; for CHRISTUS is made to ſignify "God," when connected with the *biſhop*; and "Chriſt," when connected with the *clerk*. We may indeed be told that they mean the ſame perſon; but it may be aſked in return, why therefore not uſe the ſame name? And ſatisfaction will ſtill be wanting,—how, and when, the novel tranſlation was obtruded upon the country?

Theſe are two internal evidences, which, among many others, declare againſt their being genuine, and determine them to be an infamous impoſture.

Jortin ſays of Tillemont, that "he commonly proceeds upon a ſuppoſition that they who have obtained the honor of *eccleſiaſtical knighthood*, and are called *ſaints*, are all excellent men and entirely to be truſted, and that all they who were, or were accounted *heterodox*, are to be little regarded, and held in bad eſteem."

There is, however, a modern Tillemont in lawn ſleeves, who would not give credit to the moſt ample teſtimony in behalf of the very excellent moral character of a diſtinguiſhed perſon, becauſe he either was, or was accounted, heterodox. Such bigotry can only find room to think well of ſuch eccleſiaſtical knights as Saint Nicholas, of whom the legend reports, that "when an infant hanging on his mother's breaſt, he faſted on Wedneſdays and Fridays, and could not be urged to ſuck more than once a day:"*

* See Fuller's Dedication of the ſixth book of his "Church hiſtory." p. 260.

or to conceive a favorable opinion of ſuch men only as accounted it an heinous crime to eaſe nature on the ſabbath day.* But, to uſe a beautiful remark of our author, which he indeed applies only to Tillemont, but which others may give to thoſe whom it may concern,—"ſome good men, as they grow older, grow more uncharitable in their religious notions. The apophthegm of Horace is not always true,

Lenit albeſcens animos capillus.

The hoary heads of ſome perſons are like mount Ætna, where the ſnow and the fire dwell together in ſtrict friendſhip."†

The appendix to this firſt volume of the "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory," is the work of Mr. Warburton, and ſo much more miſchief does the ill-judging friendſhip of ſome men effect, than their reſentments can accompliſh, that Mr. Jortin has loſt more credit by the admiſſion of theſe few pages of Mr. Warburton's, than if this imagined coloſſus had replied to every line of the remarks,

* See Remarks on E. H. vol. i. p. 267.

† ib. p. 351.

marks, or " whipped him at the cart's tail in a note to the *Divine legation*, the ordinary place of his literary executions: or pilloried him in the Dunciad, another engine, which as legal proprietor, he very ingeniouſly and judiciouſly applied to the ſame purpoſe."*

Mr. Jortin tells us that biſhop Pearce and Mr. Warburton were willing to appear as his friends, and his coadjutors in this work, and prefixes a copy of latin verſes, written more from the goodneſs of his heart, and in the ſpirit of poetry, than in the ſpirit of prophecy. " By ſome fatality," ſays an ingenious eſſayiſt, " he was duped, not only to accept of a poſtſcript to the firſt volume of eccleſiaſtical remarks, exhibiting the viſions of a welch prophet, with the commentaries of Warburton upon them, but to celebrate the new alliance with an—

Ibit et hoc noſtri per ſæcula foedus amoris."†

No particular notice was taken of this appendix, worth recording, except in the paſſage juſt

* See biſhop Lowth's Letter to biſhop Warburton. p. 4.

† See " Collection of letters and eſſays in favour of public liberty." 12mo. 1774. vol. iii. p. 263.

juſt cited, until the year 1772, when the late learned Mr. Taylor publiſhed ſome very maſterly remarks upon it, in a tract, entitled, "Confuſion worſe confounded; rout upon rout; or the biſhop of G——r's commentary on Rice, or Ariſe Evans's Echo from heaven, examined and expoſed. By Indignatio." That this examination and expoſure ſhould follow at ſo long a period from the time of the original publication is accounted for by Mr. Taylor's not having ſeen the appendix to which it refers before the preceding ſummer, and may be excuſed in the recollection that the *nullum tempus* bill is not extended to the church.*

It will be ſufficient here to refer to this very valuable tract, in which many of the viſions of Mr. Warburton, and thoſe of Rice Evans are not only examined and refuted, but very juſtly expoſed and ridiculed with that mixture of wit and learning, which ſo eminently

* When Mr. Jortin gave his "Letters on ancient muſic," to Mr. Aviſon, to be added to his "Eſſay on muſical expreſſion," he hoped that "the lovers of the art would ſhew favor to the *appendix* for the ſake of the *Eſſay*." (See Letter &c. p. 40.) But, one ſheet of Warburton's affected the reputation of a volume of Jortin's.

eminently diſtinguiſhed ſome of that author's writings. The only misfortune to be regretted, is that Mr. Jortin committed the credit of his labors, for the compaſs of ten pages, to the keeping of Mr. Warburton, and by that means ſubjected himſelf to be treated as an acceſſary before the fact. The conſequence has been, that being found in habits of friendſhip with ſuſpicious company, upon whom Mr. Taylor thought proper to exerciſe ſome correction, Mr. Jortin comes in for a larger ſhare of blows than was neceſſary to convince him, had he been living, of his ill-placed confidence in his *friend* Warburton. " I can't help painting to myſelf," ſays Mr. Taylor, " two of theſe minute philoſophers in the ſame ridiculous attitude, in which Shakeſpear has deſcribed a tete-a-tete of the ſame kind—

I ſaw a ſmith upon his anvil, thus,
With open mouth ſwallowing a taylor's news."*

Thus far all was fair, as Mr. Taylor might not have been informed of Mr. Jortin's ſpeedy penitence for the countenance he had given

* See " Confuſion worſe confounded," p. 53.

given to a contemptible commentary upon Evans's Echo from heaven.

But, when Mr. Taylor proceeds to loſe ſight of the bankrupt partnerſhip of Warburton and Evans, he is preſently at fault. For the ſake of impartial juſtice, I wiſh to cite the ſtrongeſt paſſage in his pamphlet. "In ſhort," ſays he, "the whole that is ſaid about prophecy either in the appendix by the biſhop, or in the book itſelf by Dr. Jortin, PACE TANTI VIRI DIXERIM, is ſo drawn; that after reading it, we find ourſelves juſt as uncertain as at firſt. We have been curveting upon a manag'd horſe, merely by way of amuſement; which ſets us down juſt where he took us up."* This judgment upon the "Remarks," aggravated rather than ſoftened by the compliment to the author of them, ſeems to have eſcaped the examiner *ex abundantia*; but has been ſo abundantly counteracted by the general opinion of the learned, the liberal, and ingenuous, that I am perſuaded it has left no material ſting behind it.

Hitherto

* See "Confuſion worſe confounded," p. 60

Hitherto it ſhould ſeem that Mr. Jortin had partaken of ſome of the ingredients which are too frequently found to conſtitute a ſcholar's wages, according to Eraſmus, "ſhort commons and little reputation, mixed with much envy and detraction."* He had many

* To theſe Eraſmus adds, "weak eyes and ill-health." "Life of Eraſmus." vol. i. p. 67. And when Jortin mentions Lactantius, as being by far the pureſt and politeſt writer of all the latin fathers, he forbears not to lament his poverty. "Lactantius, vir omnium ſuo tempore eruditiſſimus, ſed adeo pauper, ut plerumque etiam neceſſariis indiguerit." Hieronymous Chron. "I mention not this, adds he, as any thing extraordinary or wonderful; not as one of the miracles of the fourth century: for poverty is a diſeaſe which rages as much and as frequently in the republic of letters, as the plague in Conſtantinople. The motto of the republic was given to it by Terence, it is;

"Modo liceat vivere; eſt ſpes. Quæ? Nos eſurituros ſatis."—Remarks on E. H. vol. ii. p. 228 and 229.

The following obſervations, ſo appoſite to thoſe of Eraſmus and Jortin, I ſhall extract from the ſecond edition of Dr. Knox's Eſſays; I was ſorry not to be able to find them in the later editions of ſo entertaining a miſcellany. The *ſixth* edition ends with Jortin's account of his ſituation being the effect not of his erudition, but the love of it; the *ſecond* edition of the Eſſays, went on thus,

many friends who knew how to value his learning, but none of them had hitherto ſucceſsfully ſought to reward it. Certain jealouſies were entertained of his liberal and catholic principles, though it was very generally acknowledged that his writings would be read and admired as long as any pittances of good ſenſe, ſolid erudition, and exalted liberality of mind ſhould remain upon engliſh ground. To take off, as much as might be, any reproach to his patron, the " Diſcourſes on the truth of the chriſtian religion"

thus,—" While perſons of inferior attainments were made biſhops, a man who had been uncommonly eminent in the ſervice of learning and religion, was left to pine in the ſhade of obſcurity. Many who were thought to have little more than the ſhadow of piety and learning, have had the ſubſtantial reward of them, if ſecular advantages could beſtow it. Jortin was acknowledged to poſſeſs true virtue and real knowledge, but was left to receive his recompence in the ſuggeſtions of a good conſcience, and the applauſe of poſterity."—" The writer of this eulogium, as it has been called," adds he in a note, " is not conſcious of exaggeration. He owns, however, that he entertained a favorable pre-poſſeſſion concerning this liberal and laborious ſcholar at a very early age. When a ſchool-boy he had the honor

to

gion" were made the oſtenſible motive for preſenting him with the preferment deſigned for him. " The dangerous preface was then in its infancy," as a certain writer expreſſes himſelf, " and the outcry againſt it had not reached the ulterior banks of the Thames. It has, however, been ſaid, that that the patron never heard the laſt of his injudicious munificence to a man, who had affronted, (as certain druids are wont to ſay,)

to be ſeveral times in his company, and always looked up to him with a degree of veneration natural to a young mind ſtrongly attached to letters. He is happy to find that the unprejudiced coincide with him in his maturer judgment."

How theſe reflections and this teſtimony came to be omitted in the later editions of Eſſays, it is not for the preſent writer to ſay, while the author is able to ſpeak for himſelf. And what increaſes the difficulty, is, that part of the preceding extract which begins with " While perſons of inferior attainments" &c. was in the *firſt* edition written as follows; " While blockheads were made biſhops, a man who had been uncommonly eminent in the ſervice of learning and religion was left to pine in the ſhade of obſcurity. SECKER has been thought by many to have had only the ſhadow of piety and learning, but he had the ſubſtantial reward of it." See Gent. Mag. for Dec. 1777. vol. XLVII. p. 594.

ſay,) the eſtabliſhment that maintained him."*

Be this, however, as it may, in the month of May 1751, archbiſhop Herring gave Mr. Jortin, unſolicited, the rectory of St. Dunſtan in the eaſt, London, worth two hundred pounds a year; "a favor valuable in itſelf, but made doubly ſo by the giver, by the manner, by being conferred upon one," as himſelf ſays, "who had received few obligations of this kind, and by ſettling him amongſt thoſe whom he had great reaſon to love and to eſteem."†

Nothing could more enhance the obligation, than the public and handſome manner in which it was conferred. The account which is given of the interview between the archbiſhop and Mr. Jortin is, I believe, authentic, and has in it ſome circumſtances which ſhew the liberal and amiable character of the prelate, and characterize the ſimple manners

* See "Collection of Letters and Eſſays." vol. iii. p. 262.

† See dedication to the ſecond vol. of Remarks on E. H. p. iv.

manners of the clerk. Mr. Jortin dined at the feaſt of the ſons of the clergy, where archbiſhop Herring was preſent, and on being told that the archbiſhop was deſirous of renewing his acquaintance with him, he prepared for going to the upper end of the room, by looking for his hat, among a great number which lay together in a confuſed manner, but being told by his friends that his hat was by no means neceſſary, he proceeded to the prelate without it. The archbiſhop complimented him on his talents and learning, and cloſed the converſation, by giving him, in the preſence of the clergy, the rectory of St. Dunſtan in the eaſt. Mr. Jortin then returned to his ſeat, telling his friends, "I have loſt my hat, but I have got a living."*

In Auguſt this year, Mr. Jortin paid a viſit to his friends at Cambridge, where he had not been ſince the time of his quitting the univerſity;† but it is moſt probable

* See "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1773. p. 438. and Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 260. note *

† See "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 260. note *

bable that this journey, in the autumn of 1751, was principally intended as a viſit to the libraries in the univerſity; and the more ſo, as he was at that time much occupied in preparing the ſecond volume of the "Remarks" for the preſs, and which was publiſhed the following ſpring.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Publiſhes the ſecond volume of his "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory;" alſo ſhort "Miſcellaneous remarks on the ſermons of archbiſhop Tillotſon;" and "a letter on the muſic of the ancients;" publiſhes the third volume of his "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory." 1752--1754.

Mr. Jortin had the continuation of his "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory" in ſo great forwardneſs for the preſs that he publiſhed the ſecond volume in the ſpring 1752. And having been ſo lately patronized by archbiſhop Herring, he introduced it with a dedication to that worthy and benevolent prelate in language not indeed of "modern politeneſs, but of ancient ſimplicity."

The reſentment which he had incurred from the orthodox, by the catholic ſpirit which he had ſhewn in his former volume, though then freſh in his mind, and ſtill working to his further prejudice, he did not wiſh to dwell upon, but rather to look on

the favorable ſide of the contingent events of human life. In this view, I apprehend, he obſerves, in his dedication, that " the diſcourteſies which we experience, are things too common and too inſignificant to deſerve a place in our memory, or in our writings; it is beſt, ſays he, to bury them in eternal oblivion, and in their room to ſubſtitute the good offices of our friends, which ought to be remembered and recorded with pleaſure."

In excuſe for his omitting to make a laboured diſplay of the good qualities of his benefactor, or, as is too often the caſe, to aſcribe to him the poſſeſſion of thoſe attainments which did not belong to him, he concludes by telling us, in true claſſic purity of ſentiment, that it was a cuſtom among the ancients, " NOT TO SACRIFICE TO HEROES, TILL AFTER SUN-SET." And that this was not merely a happy thought, founded in fact, and applied in compliment, we may have the beſt proof by turning to what he ſays of the ſame great man, after his deceaſe, and when his dignities and patronage were in the

the poſſeſſion of a ſucceſſor who was of a quite contrary ſpirit.*

The deſign of the whole of this work, agreeably to a former intimation, was "to defend and recommend chriſtianity which was then, and continues to be daily aſſaulted and inſulted."

The controverſy concerning the duration of the miraculous powers in the chriſtian church, had been, about this time, agitated afreſh between Dr. Middleton and his adverſaries: Mr. Jortin, therefore, in bringing

* After citing an honorable teſtimony of Eraſmus to the memory of archbiſhop Warham, (Life of Eraſmus vol. 1. p. 42.) he proceeds,— "it is with a melancholy kind of pleaſure that I tranſcribe theſe paſſages, and ſhall in other parts of this work inſert other teſtimonies to the honor of the archbiſhop; whilſt in the character of this amiable prelate, drawn by ſo maſterly an hand, I contemplate that of my late patron, (Thomas Herring, archbiſhop of Canterbury,) who, beſides the good qualities in which he reſembled Warham, had piety without ſuperſtition, and moderation without meaneſs, an open and a liberal way of thinking, and a conſtant attachment to the cauſe of ſober and rational liberty both civil and religious. Thus he lived and died, and few men ever paſſed through this malevolent world, better beloved, and leſs cenſured, than he.

He

forward the view he had been led to take of "ecclesiastical miracles after the days of the apostles, and the authority upon which they depended", was engaging the attention of the public upon a subject, concerning which they had received much recent information.

Mr. Jortin was disposed to reserve to himself some latitude in the credit he should give to the miracles, said to be wrought after the age of the apostles; and observes that Le Clerc had been retained in the same opinion by the writings of Cudworth and Grew. He is, however, very free to state the sum of the

"He told me once, with an obliging condescension, which I can never forget, that he would be to me what Warham was to Erasmus; and what he promised, he performed: only less fortunate in the choice of his humble friend, who could not be to him, what Erasmus was to Warham. But if these pages should live, protected by the subject which they treat, and the materials of which they are composed, they may perhaps assist in doing justice to his memory.

His mihi dilectum nomen, manesque verendos,
His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar amico
Munere! non totus, raptus licet, optime Præsul,
Eriperis: redit os placidum, moresque benigni,
Et venit ante oculos, et pectore vivit imago.

the arguments againſt the credibility of the poſt-apoſtolic miracles in their juſt force, as well as the anſwers to them. Nor is he backward to announce where he would draw the line for himſelf; "It may not be amiſs," ſays he, "to declare, once for all, that I would not engage for the truth of any of them, after A. D. 107, and that I deſire to be ranked, as to this point, not amongſt the denyers and rejectors, but among the doubters."

The teſtimony he bears to the memory of Middleton does him honor,* and the more ſo, as to be a *doubter* of his infidelity, was, at the time when Jortin wrote, an high offence to the partizans of orthodoxy. But the true chriſtian ſpirit in which he declares the juſt criterion of our ſeveral judgments

* "To theſe authors, (ſays he, meaning Van Dale and Moyle,) will it be permitted to add Middleton? He declared himſelf more than once in favor of revelation. Let us therefore err, if it be an error, on the ſide which is favorable to him and to his memory, and join him to theſe ingenious and learned men." Remarks on E. H. vol. ii. p. 64.

upon this queſtion, deſerves to be particularly noticed, as the ſame criterion ought to be applied to every ſubject, which can be brought into debate among chriſtians, and to be adopted with that truly meek and catholic temper in which the obſervation is made. "If it be aſked, ſays he, when miraculous powers ceaſed in the church, the proper anſwer ſeems to be, that theſe miracles ceaſe to us, when we ceaſe to find ſatisfactory evidence for them."

The miracles recorded in the new Teſtament, it is obſerved, are recommended to our belief from a variety and chain of circumſtances, reaſons, and evidences; and theſe are judiciouſly recapitulated in twenty different arguments. At the cloſe of them, he further remarks, that "the miracles of Chriſt were prophecies at the ſame time; they were ſuch miracles as in a particular manner ſuited his character, they were ſignificant emblems of his deſigns, and figures aptly repreſenting the benefits to be conferred by him upon mankind, and they had in them, if we may ſo ſpeak, a ſpiritual

ſenſe.

ſenſe. So much may be urged in behalf of this interpretation of them, as ſhall probably ſecure it from being ranked among thoſe *fanciful expoſitions* which are generally ſlighted by wiſe men; for many *cabbaliſtic notions* have made their appearance in this, as well as in other centuries and countries, which are even beneath cenſure or mention, and *neither fit for the land, nor yet for the dunghill.*"

The miracles of Chriſt were of a beneficent nature, and ſome of them, together with others wrought by St. Paul and his fellow apoſtles, are cited and briefly explained. Though it is admitted to be "moſt probable that the miracles of the apoſtles could not be performed by them at their own diſcretion, but only when they had an impulſe from the holy ghoſt, who alone knew the proper times and the juſt occaſions."

As the vindication of the truth of the chriſtian religion, freed from its corruptions, is the great object of our author, we ſhall not be thought tedious in reciting his brief

ſtate

ſtate of the main evidences by which it is ſupported.

1. " Chriſt was foretold," ſays he, " by the prophets. Of the things predicted concerning him, ſome were miraculous, ſome improbable, ſome ſeemingly irreconcileable, and all of them beyond the reach of human conjecture, and yet in him they all centered, and were united and reconciled.

" To this muſt be added the amazing harmony, and analogy, and correſpondence between the old and new Teſtament, not only in the direct prophecies, but in the types, rites, ceremonies, and events contained in the former, and fulfilled in a ſublimer ſenſe in the latter, which upon the whole could never be the effect of blind chance.

" The old and new Teſtament confirm each other. The prophetic parts of the former ſupport the goſpel, and the miracles and prophecies and ſucceſs of Chriſt and his apoſtles ſupport the old Teſtament.

2. " Chriſt knew the hearts of men, as he ſhewed upon all occaſions; a knowledge which almighty God repreſents in ſcripture

as

as ſo peculiar to himſelf, that he cannot be ſuppoſed to ſuffer thoſe to partake of it, who are not ſent by him.

3. " He was a prophet: he foretold not only things remote and lying beyond human ſagacity, but things improbable and miraculous, which have been accompliſhed.

4. " He wrought miracles numerous and various, worthy of himſelf, and beneficial to men; and many of theſe miracles were alſo prophecies at the ſame time, and indications of future events; and ſo were moſt of his parables.

5. " He never erred or failed in any point, as teacher, prophet, meſſias, or worker of miracles. All his promiſes were accompliſhed, particularly his remarkable promiſe that he would ſupport and comfort all thoſe who ſhould be called to ſuffer or to die for his ſake, which hath been illuſtriouſly fulfilled in ancient and in modern martyrs.

6. " He conferred miraculous and prophetic gifts on his diſciples, and they on theirs.

7. " His religion was plain and popular, yet pure

pure and holy, and tending to make men wiſer and better, and it produced a multitude of good effects in the world.

8. " When it was firſt preached, it could never have made its way without the aſſiſtance of miracles.

9. " He lived and died an example of all that he taught, of all active and ſuffering virtues.

10. " He had no rival or antagoniſt, to make his authority appear doubtful, by oppoſing prophecies to his prophecies, and miracles to his miracles, from the time that he began his miniſtry to this day."

Mr. Jortin next ſtates the ſuppoſition of the goſpel *not* being true, in the form of an objection, ſaid to be made by a learned and ingenious perſon, but who was inclined to ſcepticiſm.—" You often tell us," obſerved this gentleman to a friend of our author's, " how dangerous it is to reject the goſpel, if it be true; but you conſider not that there is the ſame danger in teaching it, if it be falſe. What can you ſay for yourſelves when you come

come to appear before God, if you have miſled the people in ſo important a point?

The anſwer was ſhort, but ſatisfactory, "we will ſuppoſe, if you pleaſe," replied his friend," that chriſtianity is not a divine revelation: let us conſider the conſequence.

"The conſequence is that deiſm is the only true religion, and theſe are its great articles: one God, the immortality of the ſoul, or its permanency ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God, a future ſtate of retribution, the eternal differences of moral good and evil, an obligation to love God and man, and to live righteouſly and ſoberly.

"All theſe points are forcibly inculcated by chriſtianity, and nothing is taught by us that invalidates them. If chriſtianity be not true, we have been deluded, and have thought too well of thoſe who introduced revealed religion into the world, and that is all. The deluſion hath led us into no iniquity, and authorized no crimes; it has been the moſt innoxious of all errors, an error pleading for every virtue, and diſſuading from every vice.

"What

" What danger can there be in ſuch a religion, even upon any ſuppoſition? And how can it be imagined that the father of mercies would not forgive ſuch an error?

" If chriſtianity be true, the deiſt is in an error, and if his error be unavoidable, he is in the hands of a merciful God: but let him take heed that he deceive not himſelf, for if his unbelief ariſes from evil cauſes, *God is not mocked.*"

The inquiry into the authority due to the fathers and hiſtorians, upon whom the credit of the miracles ſaid to be wrought ſubſequent to the apoſtlic age depends, is opened with a cautionary admonition, that "as far as they fall ſhort of the diſtinguiſhing characters belonging to the works of Chriſt and his apoſtles, ſo far they muſt fail of giving us the ſame full perſuaſion and ſatisfaction. And that they fall ſhort in many inſtances, will appear to any one who ſhall examine them by the characters of the goſpel miracles."

The proſecution of this inquiry into, and eſtimate of the credit of the early chriſtian writers, down to the age of Conſtantine occupies

cupies the remainder of the volume. In this ſeries, the character and writings of Polycarp, Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Theophilus, Irenæus, and Origen are conſidered more at large than the others. The conduct of Mracus Aurelius towards the chriſtians; ſome account of the montaniſts, the novatians, the manichæns (from Beauſobre) and of Diocletion's perſecution (begun A. D. 302.) neceſſarily conſtitute another conſiderable part of the volume before us.

Some general obſervations which are ſuggeſted by our author, when mentioning the martyrdom of Polycarp, (who ſuffered under Marcus Aurelius about A.D. 169,) upon the noble ſpirit with which the chriſtians bore the cruel perſecutions repeatedly carried on againſt them, deſerve and will ſecure our attention. They are greatly intereſting to the believer in the chriſtian diſpenſation, and may induce ſerious reflections to him who ſhall doubt of the divine authority of the goſpel with ingenuous modeſty and diffidence, or as our author expreſſes himſelf on

another

another occaſion, " with academical preciſion."

" Whatever we determine," ſays Jortin, " concerning the wonders, the behaviour of Polycarp and of his contempories and fellow chriſtians, teaches us to determine that God was with them, and aſſiſted them. The ſufferings of the chriſtians afforded examples of courage and conſtancy which ſeemed more than human, and had an happy effect in converting others. We have authentic accounts of many perſons, in the bloom of life, and of the infirmer ſex, who received the ſentence of condemnation to a cruel death without conſternation, and underwent it without a complaint, and ſometimes with exultation and joy. When we read that Arria gave her huſband the ſword from her bleeding breaſt, with, MY DEAR, IT IS NOTHING, we admire the deed and the ſpeech. In the pagan lady ſuch reſolution is heroiſm; in the chriſtian what is it leſs?

" The perſecution which the chriſtians endured was the completion of Chriſt's predictions; the fortitude with which they endured

dured it was the completion of his promiſes. He bequeathed calamities and ſufferings to them as a legacy, and he commanded them to die for his ſake, a command hard to fleſh and blood! but he promiſed that he would be with them, and make his abode in them, and be their ſtrength and ſupport, when all things elſe ſhould fail and forſake them.

" Many were the motives which concurred to animate the ancient chriſtians, motives which might ſometimes produce an exceſs of courage bordering upon raſhneſs and enthuſiaſm; but as the love of life, and the abhorrence of pain are univerſal paſſions, there ſeems wanting a cauſe as univerſal to overcome them in perſons of all nations, ages, ſexes, and conditions, and there is none which will operate uniformly, beſides a divine aſſiſtance, none to which we may more reaſonably aſcribe it, as to the leading and principal cauſe, ſince it ſuits ſo well with the predictions and the promiſes of Chriſt. Some will call the doctrine of divine aſſiſtance *fanaticiſm*; but let them remember that many wiſe pagans held it, for they will

perhaps hearken to a platoniſt or a ſtoic. To ſuppoſe that God takes no care of good men in the violent trials and diſtreſſes which they undergo for his ſake, is entertaining a mean opinion of providence. This divine favor was not confined to the three firſt centuries: it hath been extended to multitudes who ſince that time have fallen innocent victims to anti-chriſtian tyranny, and have laid down their lives for their religion with as much conſtancy as the ancient chriſtians.

" But it will be ſaid, all chriſtian ſects have had thoſe whom they call martyrs; and ſhall we beſtow that honorable appellation on the ſchiſmatical, or the erroneous?—I ſee not, ſays our author, how we can avoid it. If a perſon lays down his life for the name of Chriſt, or for what he takes to be the religion of Chriſt, when he might prolong his days by renouncing his faith, he muſt ſtand for a martyr in every reaſonable man's calendar, though he may have been much miſtaken in ſome of his opinions.

" Marcus

" Marcus Aurelius, without repealing the old laws which condemned convicted chriſtians, made an edict, that whoſoever accuſed a chriſtian ſhould be put to death." This involved both parties. " He might have made a reaſonable one, obſerves our liberal remarker, in four words, NOLUMUS CHRISTIANOS AMPLIUS VEXARI!" " Auguſtus, who had ſuffered all perſons to approach him, ſhewed a more magnanimous mind, when a poor man once offered him a petition in a timorous manner, with a hand half extended and half drawn back, he jeſted with him, and told him that he looked as if he was giving a halfpenny to an elephant."

Upon the ſubject of the demoniacs in the new Teſtament, Mr. Jortin ſeems rather to have been unſettled, than ſatisfied, but more diſpoſed to the belief of real poſſeſſions than to conſider them as epileptics, or inſane perſons. Of the empire of Satan he ſpeaks more than once, but it is in the concluſion of what he ſays on this part of his ſubject, that he adds, " thus much in behalf, not of belief, but of academical heſitation." And

reprobates the phraſeology in our law proceedings on certain criminal charges, wherein the offence is ſaid to be done at the motion and inſtigation of the devil; for the conſequence of aſcribing "almoſt every moral and natural evil to evil ſpirits, was no other, ſays he, than that a profligate fellow could not commit any miſdemeanor, but it was, *ſiquis, inſtigante diabolo*, &c."

When our author profeſſes to have "no notion of differing from worthy perſons, living or dead, for the ſake of *ſingularity* or of *contradiction*, in which he could diſcern no charms, and neither pleaſure nor profit,"—we can very readily agree with him, and lament that there are any perſons who can give occaſion for ſuch an obſervation. But when he goes on to tell us that "to an opinion commonly received, and received by good men, when I cannot aſſent, I am inclined to ſay,

Invitus, regina, tuo de litore ceſſi:"

we may, in admitting the premiſes, wiſh to qualify the concluſion. For although much may be, and is, due to an opinion ſo ſupported, much more is due to that determined

mined inveſtigation and ſober judgment which become every honeſt inquirer:

Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, ſed magis amica veritas.

But the juſtly memorable John Hales, who is cited in this volume, reſolves this queſtion with a force and eloquence peculiar to truth. "The purſuit of truth," ſays he "hath been my only care, ever ſince I underſtood the meaning of the word. For this I have forſaken all hopes, all friends, all deſires, which might byas me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have ſpent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all that I have.—If with all this coſt and pains my purchaſe is but error, I may ſafely ſay, to err hath coſt me more than it has many to find the truth; and truth ſhall give me this teſtimony at laſt, that if I have miſſed of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune."

Mr. Jortin concludes this volume with an appendix, in which he has entered more

at large into his reaſon for thinking that the Sadducees did not reject the prophets. And has alſo given many little additions of matter, which had before eſcaped his notice.

The few "Miſcellaneous remarks on the ſermons of archbiſhop Tillotſon," which Mr. Jortin communicated to Dr. Birch for his "Life" of that amiable and eminent prelate, come next in review before us. They form the third number of the appendix to that work, which was printed 1752.*

Tillotſon publiſhed his ſermons on the divinity of Chriſt, to vindicate himſelf from the charge of ſocinianiſm, that is, ſays Jortin, from an accuſation entirely groundleſs. The miſrepreſentations of enemies will ſometimes give occaſion for theſe vindications from all quarters; but it ſeems, that in vindicating himſelf from holding the opinions of Socinus, he made ſuch conceſſions concerning ſocinians in reſpect to their good

* Page 442—450; and re-publiſhed in "Tracts philological &c." 1790. vol. i. p. 366-- 377.

good temper, their fair way of diſputing, and of debating matters of religion, their cloſe and clear reaſoning, "as never were and never would be forgiven him." It fell out, unfortunately for the archbiſhop, that he offended the high orthodox party by his candor and juſtice, and failed to convince his adverſaries by his arguments.*

South, cried aloud and ſpared not: he called the ſocinians "impious blaſphemers, whoſe infamous pedigree ran back [from wretch to wretch] in a direct line to the devil himſelf; and who were fitter to be cruſhed by the civil magiſtrate, as deſtructive to go-

 vernment

* South in his "Animadverſions on Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of the trinity," in 1693, occaſionally reflected upon Tillotſon for his "ſignal and peculiar encomium, as he calls it, of the reaſoning abilities of the ſocinians;" and being deſirous to know the archbiſhop's opinion of his performance, procured a friend of his to draw it from him, who gave it to this effect,—that "the doctor wrote like a man, but bit like a dog." This being reported to South, he anſwered, that "he had rather bite like a dog, than fawn like one." To which the archbiſhop replied, that "for his part he ſhould chuſe to be a SPANIEL, rather than a CUR." See Birch's "Life of Tillotſon," p. 348.

vernment and ſociety, than to be confuted as merely heretics in religion."

"Such," ſays Jortin, "is the true agoniſtic ſtile, or intolerant ſpirit; ſuch the courage of a champion, who challenges his adverſary, and then calls upon the conſtable to come and help him."

Another remark of Jortin's is on a ſermon,* wherein the archbiſhop took occaſion to recommend "ſerioufneſs in preaching, and to reprobate the breaking jeſts upon ſin, and quibbling with the vices of the age." This was undoubtedly deſigned as a cenſure upon South, for ſaying, that "there is no fluxing a ſoul out of its immortality," and an hundred things of the ſame kind.

Again; when Tillotſon ſaid† "he could never yet attain to that bold and hardy degree of faith, as to believe any thing, for this reaſon, becauſe it was impoſſible."—We are told that the preacher had in view the author of "Religio medici." But, ſays Jortin, "by

* See vol. ii. fo. edit. ſerm. lxx.

† See vol. iii. fo. edit. ſerm. cxl.

" by impoſſibilities, ſir Thomas Brown, as well as Tertullian, meant ſeeming, not real impoſſibilities; and what he ſays, ſhould be looked upon as a *verbum ardens*, a rhetorical flouriſh, and a trial of ſkill with Tertullian, in which, however, he had little chance to come off ſuperior.

" Tillotſon judging, that the papiſts would make an ill uſe of this, and ſuch paſſages as this, in proteſtant writers, was willing to paſs a gentle animadverſion upon it.

" Sir Kenelm Digby, a roman catholic, who criticized ſeveral things in the " Religio medici," nevertheleſs gave his loud approbation to theſe pious ſallies."

This juſtified the ſuſpicions of Tillotſon, and might have excuſed a ſmarter reprehenſion. For who is not convinced that chriſtianity and proteſtantiſm have ſuffered leſs from the malevolence and perſecutions of their adverſaries, than from the treachery and injudiciouſneſs of their friends.

Mr. Jortin was fond of muſic, and learned it after he came to reſide in London in 1730.

He

He was a good player of thorough-baſs on the harpſicord. His maſter was Mr. Petit, a frenchman, who is ſaid to have been a good player of Corelli's muſic on the violin.* But the ſcholar appears to have conſidered and attended to it as a ſcience, as well as an amuſement and relaxation from ſeverer ſtudies. That Milton† ſhould attune his lyre was natural, but that the rough and inflexible Luther‡ ſhould be a compoſer and performer on muſic is extraordinary. Jortin was led to muſic by genius and temper. We have before had occaſion to ſpeak of his genius and talents for poetry; we may now form a very competent opinion of his taſte and judgment in a ſiſter art, from his "Letter concerning the muſic of the ancients." This letter is addreſſed to Mr. Aviſon, the author of an "Eſſay on muſical expreſſion," and is added, without his name, to the ſecond edition of that Eſſay, printed 1753; but is given to its proper

* See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 259.

† See "Letter," p. 26.

‡ See "Life of Eraſmus." vol. i. p. 126.

per owner in the third edition publiſhed 1775.*

In order to diſcover our author's inducement to cultivate his turn for muſic, we need only to read his own elegant account of its innocent and inviting charms.

"The ſurpriſing powers of muſic," ſays he, "as related by ſeveral of the ancients, may juſtly paſs for exaggerations. When Horace tells us that a wolf fled from him, who met him in the woods, as he was chanting the praiſes of the fair Lalagé, we conclude either that it is a poetical fib, or that he ſang ſo ill as to frighten the ſavage.

"But ſurely muſic deſerves the ſober compliment paid to it by the ſame poet, when he calls it, the aſſuager of cares,

——— Minuenter atræ
Carmine curæ.

"It helps to relieve and ſooth the mind, and is a ſort of refuge from ſome of the evils of life, from ſlights, and neglects, and cenſures, and inſults, and diſappointments; from

* Republiſhed in "Tracts philological" &c. 1790. vol. ii. p. 1—29.

from the wrath of real enemies, and the coldneſs of pretended friends; from your well-wiſhers,(as they may juſtly be called, in oppoſition to well-doers,) whoſe inclinations to ſerve you always decreaſe, in a moſt mathematical proportion, as their opportunities to do it increaſe; from

> The proud man's contumely, and the ſpurns
> Which patient merit of th' unworthy takes;

from grievances that are the growth of all times and places.

" Many things we muſt expect to meet with, which it would be hard to bear, if a compenſation were not to be found in honeſt endeavours to do well, in virtuous affections, and connections, and in harmleſs and reaſonable amuſements. And why ſhould not a man amuſe himſelf ſometimes? *Vive la Bagatelle!*"

But, ſo modeſt an opinion had Mr. Jortin of his knowledge of the theory of muſic either of former or later times, that he profeſſes to offer " nothing better than a few ſtraggling paſſages of claſſic authors relating to muſic, and a few ſlight remarks added to them.

Theſe

Theſe " ſtraggling remarks," however, are happily illuſtrated by the hand of a maſter; and his deſcription of the muſic of the ancients, both vocal and inſtrumental, diveſted of all muſical myſteries, is pleaſingly related.

" The muſic of the ancients ſeems in general, ſays he, to have been more ſimple than ours, and perhaps it would not have the ſame effect upon us, as it had upon them, if we could retrieve it. We ſhould probably find in it ſomething to commend, and ſomething to cenſure. For many reaſons it may be ſuppoſed to have been ſuperior beyond all meaſure to the execrable muſic of the modern Greeks, the Turks, Perſians and Chineſe, which yet is charming in their ears, and, in their fond opinion, would affect even things inanimate,

With magic numbers, and perſuaſive ſound,

Thus it is with muſic: bad ſeems good, 'till you get acquainted with better.

" Yet one conſiderable advantage which aroſe even from the ſimplicity of the ancient tunes, and which greatly ſet off their concert

cert of vocal and inſtrumental muſic, was that the ſinger could be underſtood, and that the words had their effect as well as the muſic; and then the charms of elegant and pathetic poeſy, aided and ſet off by the voice, perſon, manner and accent of the ſinger, and by the ſound of the inſtruments, might affect the hearer very ſtrongly. We muſt add to this the harmonious and unrivalled ſweetneſs of the greek language,

——— cui non certaverit ulla,
Aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare perannos.

" But in modern performances of this kind, if you are not acquainted with the ſong, it is often entirely loſt to you; nor can you always hear it diſtinctly, even when you know it by heart, or have it before you to read.

" As to inſtrumental muſic, the faſhion ſeems to be too precipitate in all lively and briſk movements. This, indeed, ſhews a hand; but the muſic often ſuffers by it: and a man may play, as well as talk, ſo faſt that none can underſtand him. I have heard ſuch performers,

performers, who had what is called *execution*, lead off the *Fugues* at ſuch a rate, that one half of their companions were thrown out, and obliged to jump in again, as well as they could, from time to time. Yet the *Violino principale* choſe rather to put up with a thouſand diſſonances, than to abate of his ſpeed; a ſure proof that if his hand was the hand of *Apollo*, his ears were the ears of *Midas*, and that he felt no part of the muſic but his own."

It will adminiſter ſome conſolation to thoſe whoſe ears are not ſo nicely attuned to concords of ſweet ſound, to be well aſſured that they are not ſingular, and to be convinced, that if they have not the taſte, they do not err in judgment, if they forbear to ſeek with the multitude, what they can neither comprehend, nor enjoy, Vigneul Marville's deſcription of a muſical entertainment has not been ſo long drawn, as to induce us to queſtion its faithful repreſentation of thoſe mixed and motley aſſemblies.

" Being in the country one day, (ſays this experimental ſtudent in the power of muſic,) I had

I had a mind to ſee whether beaſts, as it is commonly ſaid of them, take pleaſure in muſic. Whilſt my companion was playing upon an inſtrument, I conſidered attentively a cat, a dog, a horſe, an aſs, a hind, ſome cows, ſome little birds, and a cock and hens, which were in the court, below the window where we ſtood. The cat paid no regard to the muſic, and to judge by his phyſiognomy, he would have given all the ſymphonies in the world for one mouſe; he ſtretched himſelf out in the ſun and went to ſleep. The horſe ſtopped ſhort before the window, and as he was grazing, he raiſed his head from time to time. The dog ſat him down upon his bumb, like a monkey, fixing his eyes ſtedfaſtly on the muſician, and continued a long time in the ſame poſture, with the air and attitude of a connoiſſeur. The aſs took no notice at all of us, munching his thiſtles very demurely. The hind ſet up her large broad ears, and ſeemed extremely attentive. The cows gave us a look and then marched off. The little birds in a cage, and in the trees, ſtrained their throats, and ſang with the

the utmoſt eagerneſs; whilſt the cock minded nothing but the hens, and the hens buſied themſelves in ſcratching the dunghill."

The experiment, it is moſt probable, was really made upon this group of animals, and their reſpective behaviour faithfully reported; but the application of the account belongs to our author. "Imagine, ſays he, theſe creatures to be human creatures, and you will have no bad repreſentation of one of our politeſt aſſemblies at a muſical performance."

After this reproof of the general affectation of taſte in the majority of the followers of muſical meetings, which only makes the parties ridiculous; we may cloſe our extracts from this elegant and claſſic letter, with the moral leſſon which concludes it. After all, "there is no harmony ſo charming as that of a well ordered life, moving in concert with the ſacred laws of virtue. Human nature, indeed, cannot hope to arrive at this perfection: the inſtrument will ſometimes be out of tune; diſallowances alſo and diſſo-

nances will be ſprinkled up and down; but they ought ſoon to give place to concords and to regularity, 'till the whole be cloſed in a juſt and agreeable cadence, and leave behind it a ſweet and a laſting remembrance."

Dr. Burney has conſidered the foregoing letter as the production of Dr. Brown of Newcaſtle, and has remarked upon it with ſome degree of "polemical acrimony," as is obſerved by the editor of the laſt republication of this letter on the muſic of the ancients.* The aſcription of this work to Dr. Brown muſt have ariſen from Dr. Burney's having ſeen only the two anonymous publications of it; the third edition in 1775, bore the name of Dr. Jortin: what could excite "polemical acrimony" in the hiſtorian of muſic, when he might have paid the tribute of gratitude, is not worth inquiring.

Having been led to digreſs from the examination of the remarks on the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, by the two ſmall intervening publications

* See "Tracts philological" &c. 1790. vol. ii. p. 29. note: where reference is made to Burney's "Hiſtory of muſic," vol. i. p. 109, &c.

cations on Tillotſon's ſermons, and on ancient muſic; we will now revert to the order of time, and proceed to the conſideration of the next volume of that work.

In 1754 was publiſhed the third volume of our author's "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory." Some part of the ſubject of it had been announced in the preceding volume, but the full compaſs of it is well and ſummarily deſcribed in the dedication to archbiſhop Herring. Here we are told that he had "endeavoured to examine and diſcuſs, without adulation or diſſimulation, with ſober liberty and diſintereſted inquiry, the increaſing of the church of Chriſt in ſplendor, and decreaſing in virtue; the origin and progreſs of ſuperſtition and ſpiritual tyranny; the unhappy controverſies which ſignalized the fourth century; the councils called to compoſe theſe diſputes, and never anſwering the purpoſes for which they were deſigned; the character of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians who have tranſmitted to us the memory of theſe events; the laws of the firſt chriſtian emperor, which, like himſelf,

had a mixture of good and bad; the accomplishment of the prophecies in the destruction of the persecutors of christianity; the state of the jews ever since their rejection, and the hopes which christians entertain that God, in his appointed time, will shew mercy and favour to his once chosen people."

The period of time to which the present volume is limited, is the reign of Constantine, in the fourth century, which began A. D. 307. and closed A. D. 337 *. It has been observed, that "as soon as christian societies began, debates began, and as soon as christianity was by law established, debates grew more violent †." The truth of the remark is confirmed by the history of the christian church under Constantine, who first gave it the supposed external advantage of an establishment by the laws of the empire. A christian emperor was a new character; but the faith which he was desirous to preserve and

* See "Universal History," vol. xiv. p. 80 and 120.

† See Preface to first volume of "Remarks on E. H." p. xiii.

and promote ſuffered more from his protection and patronage, than from the perſecution of Diocletian. To die in a good cauſe is gain to the ſufferer; but to corrupt the chriſtian faith by the application of imperial edicts, is to poiſon the fountain, and to protract its baneful effect ſo long as the ſtream continues to flow. It is indeed one argument in favour of chriſtianity, that it was able not only to ſupport itſelf, but to ſurvive the heavy perſecutions of its followers, as it beſpeaks the ſuperintending providence of God and is itſelf a fulfilment of the predictions of his prophets: but, ſupported in its corruptions by the ſecular power, it is ſcarcely able to hold up its head, becauſe it ceaſes to exhibit its native charms to the reaſonable underſtanding of mankind.

The ſoldiers under Conſtantine, as they were marching againſt Maxentius, were made to conceive of a ſhining or lucid croſs, which was ſaid to be ſeen in the ſky, as of a miracle wrought in their favour, though moſt probably it was no more than a natural ap-

pearance. This perſuaſion ſerved to give enthuſiaſm to the army, and on this account his ſtandard was made in the form of a croſs, to perpetuate this omen of ſucceſs *.

The worſhip of ſaints, martyrs and reliques; monkery, lying wonders, auſterities, vows of virginity, pilgrimages, and a long detail of the like trumpery, derive their origin from the fourth century. Many of the converts from paganiſm retained much reſpect for their former ſuperſtitious rites, and the civil power countenanced their admiſſion into the chriſtian church. As the pagans, from honouring their heroes, ſoon began to deify them, the chriſtians who were come over, or half-over from paganiſm, behaved themſelves much in the ſame manner towards ſaints and martyrs. And when the times of martyrdom were paſt, and that kind of courage and conſtancy could not be exerted, pious

* The Portugueſe have adopted this ſymbol on their coin, with the ſurrounding legend, IN HOC SIGNO VINCES. Their ſuperſtition is greater than their opulence, or it would be doubtful whether they referred to their religion, neat as imported from Italy, or to their gold, as they receive it from Peru.

pious people contrived a voluntary martyrdom, inflicted pains on themselves, forsook their friends, retired into solitude, and renounced the innocent and even necessary comforts of life. The history of monkery here given will be found to be entertaining, lively and candid.

As the arian controversy constituted a memorable part of the events of the age we are upon, so it is here deservedly considered with some minuteness. A controversy which made much noise, and did more mischief. "It was the occasion of innumerable lies, slanders, forgeries, pretended miracles, persecutions, banishments, seditions and murders, of many false and partial histories, and of a multitude of councils which produced only confusion and discord." The council of Nice, where this controversy began, is very justly characterized, and the credit of all councils estimated according to their proper value in the minds of honest and peaceable christians.

In the accounts of the ecclesiastical historians of the fourth and part of the fifth centuries, the character of Eusebius, the

moſt learned biſhop of his age, and the father of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, occupies the principal part, in preference to thoſe who are his uſual companions. But Socrates the hiſtorian, Sozomen, Theodoret, and others are noticed in their turn.

The laws of Conſtantine, (moſt of which may be found in the Theodoſian code,) as far as they reſpected the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity by protecting its friends and harraſſing and perſecuting others, are very judiciouſly remarked upon. Under Conſtantius, (the ſon of Conſtantine,) the ſpirit of intolerance, directed by a miſtaken zeal, had ſo greatly increaſed the ſeverity of the laws againſt paganiſm, "that ſacrificing, together with idolatrous worſhip, was made a capital crime." And in our own country the ſame pious care was taken for the better eſtabliſhment of the trinity, when by an ordinance of parliament of 1648, the denial of that incomprehenſible myſtery was puniſhed by *death without benefit of clergy* *. Thus the puniſhment of pagan idolatry with death, unjuſtifiable

* See Scobell's "Collection of acts," &c. p. 149.

unjuſtifiable as it was on every account, was a precedent for inflicting the like ſentence upon the worſhippers of the one only living and true God, the creator and governor of the world. How fluctuating and convertible are all penal laws in religion!

Nothing can more clearly prove the dangers to which power and authority expoſe their poſſeſſors, than the early "taſte which chriſtians acquired for *wholeſome ſeverities*. Firſt they deprived heretics of their places of worſhip, then they forbad them to aſſemble any where, and then they fined, impriſoned, baniſhed, ſtarved, whipped, and hanged them, for the advancement of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and for the honour of chriſtianity. Such were the dictates of *public wiſdom*. In the mean time, the biſhops, in their councils, made canons forbiding any catholic to marry his children to heretics, or leave them any legacy, though they were the neareſt relations.

"The laws againſt heretics collected in the Theodoſian code, ſtand as a ſhameful monument of the perſecuting anti-chriſtian ſpirit, which

which brake out in the fourth century, and grew more and more violent in the following times."

Mr. Jortin adds, by way of a general juſtification of himſelf, that, "it is the duty of hiſtorians to give an impartial and juſt account of ſuch cruel proceedings, that people may be taught to love their liberties, civil and religious, and to beware of thoſe who would ſtrip them of theſe bleſſings, and alſo, *ut qui inſontes damnaverunt, ipſi cauſam dicant omnibus ſæculis.*"

The next view we are led to take of the hiſtory of the chriſtian church, is the untimely and unuſual deaths of many of the perſecuting emperors, princes, and magiſtrates, in reſpect to the matter of fact, and alſo in reference to the prophecies concerning them. Mr. Jortin requeſts the candid judgment of the reader by very properly recommending much caution upon this head. "There is uſually much raſhneſs and preſumption," ſays he, "in pronouncing that the calamities of ſinners are particular judgments of God; yet, if, from ſacred and profane, from ancient and

and modern hiſtorians, a collection were made of all the cruel perſecuting tyrants, who delighted in tormenting their fellow creatures, and who died not the common death of all men, nor were viſited after the viſitation of all men, but whoſe plagues were horrible and ſtrange, even a ſceptic would be moved at the evidence, and would be apt to ſuſpect that it was θειον τι, that the hand of God was in it."

In ſupport of one part of this general obſervation, our author gives a long detail of theſe perſecutors, the peſt and ſcourge of religion and humanity, whoſe deaths were attended with circumſtances correſpondent to the flagitious acts of their lives. And in ſupport of the ſecond, he has particularly adverted to and delivered his conſtruction of the hundred and tenth pſalm.

The laſt great diviſion of the hiſtory of the chriſtian church in the age of Conſtantine, leads to the conſideration of the ſtate of the jews; and our author hath taken the account ſo early, as from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Veſpaſian and Titus, and a ſecond time by Adrian, continuing his hiſ-

tory

tory through the ſucceſſive and almoſt unceaſing perſecutions which that people have undergone unto our own time.

In the courſe of this hiſtory, our attention is called to a prophecy of our lord's, in which he ſays, (John v. 43.) *I am come in my father's name, and ye receive me not: if another ſhall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* And we are preſented with a long, and I had almoſt ſaid, a chronological, liſt of falſe chriſts, from which it appears that the prophecy concerning them has frequently been fulfilled. Whence "it may ſeem ſtrange," as our hiſtorian very properly remarks, "that the jews ſhould have rejected Chriſt, who gave them ſo many proofs of his miſſion, and yet ſhould follow every impoſtor, who pretended to be the meſſiah, without offering any ſufficient or even plauſible evidence of it. The reaſon is plain: our ſaviour by not ſetting up a temporal kingdom, daſhed all their worldly views at once; but the other claimers of the title of the meſſiah began with promiſes of delivering them from

their

their enemies, and reſtoring to them their country and their loſt liberties."

The difficulties which the converſion of this unhappy people to the great and chearing truths of the goſpel of Chriſt, make a neceſſary and to us a very important part of our author's diſcuſſion of his ſubject. The queſtion will naturally recur to every inquiſitive and reflecting mind,---how is it that the jews continue to reſiſt the evidences of chriſtianity? and what meaſures muſt be taken to convince them of its truth?---So far as reſpects the ſtate of the greateſt part of chriſtendom, it may be obſerved, that the doctrines and commandments of men are preſented to them as the doctrines of the goſpel, and all the complicated impieties of the romiſh ſuperſtition are tendered as the teachings of Chriſt; here then is little room, according to our apprehenſion, to wonder at their perſiſting to withhold their aſſent from a ſyſtem which has ſo few and faint, if any, marks of a divine original. " The violence" ſays Jortin, " which a man muſt offer to his own ſenſes and reaſon, and the ſlaviſh deference that he muſt pay to human

human authority, before he can enter into that communion; the divine honors given to the virgin Mary; the worſhip of angels, ſaints, croſſes, wafers, coffins, bones, rags, old iron, reliques, pictures, and images, ſupported by ridiculous miracles and traditionary lies; the tyranny of the church, and the cruelty of the inquiſition; theſe are inſuperable obſtructions to the converſion of the jews, and excite in them prejudices againſt chriſtianity that are too ſtrong and too plauſible to be eaſily removed. The jews abhor idolatry, and every thing that borders upon it, and in popiſh countries they have no notion of any other chriſtianity than what is there profeſſed, and what they ſee before their eyes."

All this may poſſibly be very readily granted by a large majority of my countrymen, who, not being parties immediately concerned, are more competent to form their opinion, and no leſs prompt to declare it. But it is an intereſting concern, which comes home to us all, to inquire, further, how the matter ſtands with the jews diſperſed in proteſtant

teſtant nations. Upon this queſtion, our author's obſervations have the more weight with me, becauſe, with all the candor of his mind, he ſaw, in a great degree, the impediments to their converſion, in a juſt light, and ſcorned to ſuppreſs the relation of them, and by ſuch ſuppreſſion to ſhare in the ſcandal, or become acceſſary to their continuance. " The jews," ſays he, " who dwell in proteſtant countries have not the ſame cauſes to diſlike chriſtianity, which appears with more ſimplicity, which offers itſelf to examination, which is purged from ſuperſtitious practices, and which forces itſelf upon no one with imperious inſolence. But in the reformed nations too many oſtacles remain to prevent and diſcourage the converſion of that people; ſuch as ariſe from the little influence which the goſpel is obſerved to have upon the lives and manners of many of its profeſſors; from the diſunion of chriſtians, and their diviſion and ſubdiviſion into various ſects, which uſually entertain no favorable opinion of each other.

" If

" If I ſhould embrace chriſtianity, a jew might ſay, I have juſt begun the laborious inquiry: it remains to conſider to whom I ſhould join myſelf, and here I am quite perplexed with your diviſions. If I ſhould go over to the church of Rome, the proteſtants will condemn my judgment, and ſay that I have made a miſerable choice; if I become a proteſtant, the papiſts will tell me I might as well have remained a jew; ſchiſmatics and heretics are in their opinion in as bad a ſituation, and as much excluded from ſalvation as jews, mahometans, deiſts, ſceptics, and atheiſts; if I am a proteſtant of this or that denomination, other ſects of proteſtants will blame me, and think me ſtill in a dangerous ſituation, and perhaps calls me a ſchiſmatic.

" Thus ſome jews have reaſoned; and that we may not be thought," continues our author, " to have furniſhed them with objections which we cannot anſwer, let us offer a ſhort reply. It might then be ſaid to the jew; ſearch the ſcriptures, and examine our arguments, and if they convince you, receive the goſpel,

goſpel, and believe in Chriſt. You are then his ſubject, and his ſervant; for it is not your belonging to this or that church, that makes you a chriſtian, but your belief that Jeſus is the ſon of God, and the meſſias. The reſt you may do at your leiſure, and it is not ſo laborious a taſk as you ſuſpect. Only conſider what the church of Rome, and what the proteſtant churches require of you, and judge which is the moſt reaſonable, and the moſt conformable to the new Teſtament. The church of England in her form of *baptiſm for thoſe of riper years*, requires of you only an aſſent to the chriſtian religion in general, and to the apoſtles creed in particular."

We now begin to diſcern where the difficulty lies. The office referred to involves much more than is here repreſented to be expreſsly demanded. And it is preſumed that the church of England would not require of her clergy to ſubſcribe to articles, liturgy, and homilies, which ſhe does not think neceſſary for her lay-members to believe. The fact is, that when we deſcend into any eſtabliſhment, as they are all now conſtituted, we feel, and

might as well as ingenunuſly own, that we are confronted by one objection of the jews, which we cannot anſwer.

The further we proceed to particulars, the more decidedly does their objection advance upon us. " Another great and well known difficulty in the converſion of the jews (as alſo of the mahometans,) is the doctrine of the holy trinity, which they have always been taught to look upon as not reconcileable with the unity of God. All that I ſhall ſay to this," ſays Jortin, " is, that no one ſhould attempt to remove this prejudice, and to ſatisfy them upon this ſubject, 'till he has brought them to believe the divine miſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and his character as prophet, meſſias, teacher of truth, and worker of miracles. If they will not admit the things relating to his offices and miniſtry, it would be a vain and uſeleſs undertaking to debate with them about the dignity of his nature. And when it is neceſſary to proceed to that part of chriſtianity, this doctrine ſhould be repreſented even as it is delivered in the new Teſtament, and no otherwiſe: and then many things may be obſerved concerning

concerning the Λογος, the *angel of God's preſence*, and the *angel of the covenant*, from the old Teſtament, and from Philo, and from ſome ancient jewiſh writers."

I have recited this faint direction for the ſolution of this difficulty, as I find it among the "Remarks" before us; though, according to my apprehenſion, it is very inadequate to the demands of truth, or the nature of the caſe. Whatever may be obſerved "concerning the Λογος, the *angel of God's preſence*, and the *angel of the covenant*, from the old Teſtament, and from Philo, and from ancient jewiſh writers," in ſupport of the ſcheme of the pre-exiſtence of Chriſt, will ſtrengthen, rather than remove, the objections both of the jews and the mahometans; the former of whom never looked for the meſſiah in any other character than that of a man born of a woman,* however they may be otherwiſe miſtaken concerning him; and both jews and mahometans agree in the full perſuaſion that the Lord their God, is one Lord, the one cauſe, creator, and governor of all things, without admitting any ſcholaſtic

* So ſtated by Jortin in his "Diſcourſes" &c. p. 17.

or metaphyſical diſtinctions or refinements, in accommodation to the ſyſtems and inventions of thoſe, who vainly affect to be wiſe above what is written. Indeed, Mr. Jortin, while he retained theſe notions of the arian ſcheme, which, moſt probably, were thoſe which he embraced himſelf, had too catholic a ſpirit to wiſh to incorporate his own notions into a public profeſſion of faith, or to enlarge the apoſtolic teſt of our chriſtian fellowſhip propoſed by Philip, who only ſaid to the eunuch, (Acts viii. 37.) *If thou believeſt with all thine heart, thou mayeſt* be baptiſed. *And he anſwered and ſaid, I believe that Jeſus Chriſt is the ſon of God.* The importance and ſufficiency of this declaration is apparent from the obſervation of our lord himſelf, who ſaid, *This is life eternal, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* (John xvii. 3.)

In confirmation of theſe remarks reſpecting the removal of all impediments to the full diſplay of the goſpel, and the conſequent converſion of jews and mahometans, he obſerves, in the genuine ſpirit of a chriſtian and a proteſtant who well underſtood his liberty,

and

and who ſenſibly felt certain encroachments upon it, that " the next ſtep towards the increaſe of Chriſt's kingdom muſt be a further improvement of chriſtianity, and of thoſe who receive and profeſs it. The church of Rome, ſays he, is NOT the only church that wants amendment. Other chriſtian ſocieties which have ſeparated themſelves from her, and from her groſſer defects, are departed, more or leſs, from the original ſimplicity of the goſpel, and have mixed ſome doctrines of men with the word of God, and ſo ſtand in need of ſome improvement.

" It is therefore to be hoped that a time will come when religion will have a fairer and more alluring aſpect, when chriſtians will be united, not in opinion as to all theological points, for that is impoſſible whilſt men are men, but that they will be united in benevolence and charity, in intercommunion, and in one common and ſimple profeſſion of faith; that their manners will be ſuitable to their profeſſion, and that they will be more peaceable, more virtuous, and more pious; and then the external impediments to the converſion of unbelievers will in no ſmall

meaſure be removed. Theſe are amendments which ſeem, beſides human efforts, to require ſuch a concurrence of favourable circumſtances as ſcarcely ever meet and are united, together with ſupernatural aids, and an effuſion of divine gifts and graces. Therefore, it may be ſaid, ſuch a change, ſuch a regeneration of mankind is not to be expected. And yet ſtrange things have been accompliſhed. Who that had ſeen the dreadful deſtruction of Jeruſalem could have thought that the jewiſh nation, ſo enfeebled, ſo diſperſed, ſo abhorred, and ſo oppreſſed in all places, would have ſubſiſted for ſeventeen hundred ages? Who that had beheld the beginnings of chriſtianity, and the difficulties which it had to encounter could have imagined that it would ſpread through the known world? Who that had ſeen a poor monk ſet his face againſt popes and emperors, would have believed that the preaching of Luther ſhould have brought about a reformation, and the eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion?

" Nothing

" Nothing is too hard for omnipotence: great and glorious changes, even a *new earth wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs*, may be produced by inſtruments and by methods of which we are now ignorant, and which it is vain to ſeek out by conjectures. Theſe ſecret things belong to the Lord our God, and to him we muſt leave them. Our duty is to do all that lies in our power towards increaſing his dominion, by ſtudying to underſtand his goſpel, by a ſober care and concern to live ſuitably to its holy precepts, and by not only wiſhing and praying, but endeavouring that his kingdom may come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

When our author emphatically remarks that the church of Rome is not the only church that wants amendment; there can be no miſtaking his meaning, nor any injuſtice done to his memory, by ſuppoſing that he had in his mind, the church of England, as now by law eſtabliſhed. Upon this preſumption, concerning this, and other general liberal ſentiments which are plentifully ſcattered over all his works, his ene-

mies, who had acquired a taſte, with certain early chriſtians, for wholeſome ſeverities, did not ceaſe to reproach and ſcandalize him; and, but for a better ſpirit in the world at large, would have given ſubſtantial form to their diſpleaſure and reſentment. So true is it of others, as well as of biſhop Gardiner, that they "underſtand the ſtewing of lettuces, and the broiling of heretics, much better than the principles and precepts of chriſtianity*:" but ſince the eccleſiaſtical market has ceaſed to be furniſhed with martyrs, one half of the work of the orthodox is finiſhed. An old proverb has it, that, "cleanlineſs is next to godlineſs;" and upon this being obſerved in the ear of an Oxford profeſſor, he abruptly replied, that "in cookery it were a much better thing." The biſhop's adroitneſs in the culinary art, and the profeſſor's cleanlineſs may now be innocently employed, without having human ſacrifices for the ſubject of their united proficiency.

But, concerning the ſpecific defects in the eſtabliſhed church we are not expreſsly informed.

* See "Life of Eraſmus," vol. ii. p. 721.

ſormed. It is, however, very obvious to me, that Mr. Jortin would have been found among that very numerous body of learned and good men, who have cordially joined in the earneſt wiſh of Tillotſon concerning the creed uſually called, the creed of Athanaſius, that the church were well rid of it. A wiſh that hath been repeated by a thouſand pens. For indeed its two primary properties are the ſame with thoſe of the creed of Cyril, who was preſident of the factious council of Epheſus, which conſiſted of two parts; of curſes, and of doctrines: the curſes were intelligible, and the doctrines were unintelligible. "If it had been the reverſe," ſays Jortin, "it had been more for his credit."* Even good tempered trinitarians conſider it as no imputation on their orthodoxy, to wiſh the church well rid of a creed, which diſcredits every pretenſion to chriſtian charity; and

* In the addenda; Mr. Jortin has ſubſtituted the following account of Cyril's confeſſion of faith, (or his anathematiſms,) "it was injudicious, obſcure, uncharitable, and I think not reconcileable with the holy ſcriptures." A deſcription which will as pointedly apply to the creed of Athanaſius, as to the creed of Cyril.

and politic trinitarians wiſh it ſecretly removed, leſt the minds of plain and honeſt chriſtians, ſhocked at the impiety of its imprecations, ſhould, in the ſame remonſtrance, raiſe their voices againſt the contradictions and abſurdities of its doctrines.

I do not imagine, however, that our author looked with a more friendly eye to the doctrines than to the curſes of this creed; for as the one offended againſt the natural mildneſs of his temper, and the benevolent ſpirit of the chriſtian diſpenſation; the other ſtood out againſt every principle of reaſon, and every page of revelation.

The moſt explicit declaration of Mr. Jortin upon this head, that I can recollect, is that "it ſeemed to him to be a fair inference from thoſe paſſages of the holy ſcriptures which concern the dignity of our lord's nature, that the ſon poſſeſſed from all eternity all that the infinite love and infinite power and infinite wiſdom of the father could communicate."

And yet, when we find ſo able and diſcerning a critic, and ſo ingenuous a mind, obſerving

obſerving juſt before, that becauſe St. John ſays "all things were made by the *word*," and St. Paul ſays that "God made all things by his *ſon*," therefore the *word* and the *ſon*, were one and the ſame perſon, ſuch an obſervation though common, and repeatedly refuted,* can only remind us of another, ſtated indeed to expoſe the fallacy of ſuch wretched diſtortion and miſapplication of ſcripture. *There went out a decree from* Cæſar Auguſtus, *that all the world ſhould be taxed.* Here we have a *tax*, but not a word of a *parliament*. And then to clinch it, throw in the text. *Render therefore unto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſar's; and I will be bound to ſhew, ſays my author, that you have as good a ſcripture proof for this article, as ſome commentators have brought to authorize ſome others that I could name.†

"The famous Poſtellus, we are told, obſerved that there were eleven thouſand proofs of

* See particularly Lardner's "Letter on the Logos," p. 18. alſo p. 70---74. (his Works, vol. xi. p. 95. and 120---124.) Lindſey's "Catechiſt," p. 78---82. and his "Examination of Robinſon's Plea," p. 61---62.

† See the "Confeſſional," 3d. edit p. 422. note.

of the trinity, in the old Teſtament, interpreted rightly, that is, ετυμολογικομυσικοκαθαλισιχως."

On the other hand, Mr. Blaney, in his notes on Jeremiah xxiii. 6. in his late learned tranſlation of that prophet, ſays, he " doubts not but ſome perſons will be offended with him for depriving them by his tranſlation of a favorite argument for proving the divinity of our ſaviour from the old Teſtament; a doctrine which draws its *deciſive* proofs from the new Teſtament only." So much could the viſionary conceits of Poſtellus diſcover, where Blaney ingenuouſly owns he could honeſtly find nothing. And, if we may here add an obſervation of Euſebius, and which has often been made ſince his time, and apply it to Mr. Blaney's *deciſive* proofs of our Lord's ſuppoſed divinity in the new Teſtament, it will, ſo long as it can be ſupported by truth, go a great way in juſtifying very ſtrong ſuſpicions againſt the clear deciſion of theſe imagined proofs. " Our ſaviour hath taught us," ſays this venerable hiſtorian, " what we ought to think concerning him, in order to obtain

obtain ſalvation: *God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten ſon, that whoſoever* believeth *in him, may have life eternal.* He ſays not, he who *knoweth* his nature, but he who *believeth* in him.*

In this variety of opinions, it is the way of ſome to appeal to the determinations of councils, as the reſidence of the collected wiſdom of the church. But our author has taken ſome pains to ſhew, and has indeed demonſtrated that they are, in every view, undeſerving of any credit, confidence, or authority, not only as being primarily incompetent to decide for others, but as having invariably abuſed, perverted, and diſgraced the oſtenſible deſign of their meetings. † And indeed there is a ſignificant old adage againſt our abiding by the doctrine of numbers upon theological queſtions, which is aptly applied by our author;

Eſt turba ſemper argumentum peſſimi.

Alexander

* Euſebius contra Marc. cited in "Remarks on E.H." vol. iii. p. 163.

† See "Remarks on E. H." vol. i. pref. p. xiv---xix. vol. iii. p. 53---72. and "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 515.

Alexander biſhop of Alexandria, it ſeems, aſſumed to himſelf both the wiſdom and the power of a general council, or, as we ſhould ſpeak, united in his own perſon the legiſlative and the executive powers, for he commanded Arius to come over to his ſentiments, and to quit his own: "as if a man could change his opinions," ſays Jortin, "as eaſily as he can change his coat;" or, as if he had picked them up, as Sterne ſomewhere writes, as a man would pick up golden pippins.

Where opinions are thus lightly entertained, there is no pretenſion to conſider them as the real ſentiments of the men who avow them; and may therefore be transferrable in the ſame eaſy and indifferent way, in which they were acquired. But the holders of them can never be conſidered as ſeriouſly convinced either of their truth, or their importance, any more than the infamous colonel K——, who when Charles the ſecond, of no leſs profligate memory, ſolicited him to turn papiſt, replied that he very willingly would have obliged his majeſty, but that he had before promiſed the grand ſeignior that if ever he changed his religion, he would turn mahometan.

CHAPTER V.

Admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity at Lambeth; publiſhes his "Six diſſertations upon different ſubjects." 1755.

Archbiſhop Herring's friendſhip for our author was ſhewn on different occaſions by rendering him ſubſtantial ſervices, by intending others in which he was not able to ſucceed, and by general attentions which marked his regard and eſteem for Mr. Jortin.*

In

* Mr. Jortin has left a manuſcript note of his acquaintance with and friendſhip for the archbiſhop, an extract from which as I find it in Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 261. note, and in the preface to the firſt vol. of the "Tracts philological," &c. p. ix.---xi.—"Archbiſhop Herring and I," ſays he "were of Jeſus college in Cambridge; but he left it about the time when I was admitted, and went to another. [Benet college]. Afterwards, when he was preacher at Lincoln's Inn, I knew him better, and viſited him. He was at that time, and long before, very intimate with Mr. Say, [Francis Say, eſq. librarian to queen Caroline, and ſecretary to five ſucceeding biſhops of Ely,] his friend and mine, who lived in Ely-houſe; and Mr. Say, to my knowledge, omitted no opportunity to recommend me

In the year 1755, the archbiſhop conferred upon him the degree of doctor in divinity. "I thought it too late in life," writes Jortin in a private manuſcript, "as I told him, to go and take it at Cambridge, under a profeſſor, who, in point of academical ſtanding, might have taken his firſt degree under me, when I was moderator. I was willing

me to him. When he was archbiſhop of York, he expected that a good living would lapſe into his hands; and he told Mr. Say, that he deſigned it for me. He was diſappointed in his expectation; ſo was not I; for I had no inclination to go and dwell in the north of England. When Mr. Say died, [Sept. 10, 1748.] he aſked me, of his own accord, whether I ſhould like to ſucceed him in the queen's library: I told him that nothing could be more acceptable to me; and he immediately uſed all his intereſt to procure it for me; but he could not obtain it. A perſon, who is not worth the naming, [Archibald Bower,] was preferred to me by the ſolicitation of—it matters not who.

"The archbiſhop afterwards aſſured me of his aſſiſtance towards procuring either the preacherſhip or the maſterſhip of the Charter-houſe, where I had gone to ſchool. This project alſo failed; not by his fault, but by the oppoſition of—it matters not who.

"In conjunction with biſhop Sherlock, he likewiſe procured for me the preaching of Boyle's Lectures. He alſo offered

willing to owe this favour to him, which I would not have aſked or accepted from any other archbiſhop."*

But, beſides the complimentary accommodation of Dr. Jortin, in ſparing him a diſagreeable errand to Cambridge, as he ſtates it above, he was alſo excuſed ſubſcribing the thirty-nine articles, agreeably to the privilege of diſpenſing with ſuch ſubſcription, which is uniformly claimed and exerciſed by the archbiſhops of Canterbury. It is not ſo generally known

offered me a living in the country, and, (which I eſteemed a ſingular favour) he gave me leave to decline it, without taking it amiſs in the leaſt; and ſaid, that he would endeavour to ſerve me in a way that ſhould be more acceptable. He did ſo, and gave me a living in the city. [St. Dunſtan's in the eaſt.]

"That ſome perſons beſides Mr. Say, did recommend me to him, I know, and was obliged to them for it. But I muſt add, that on this occaſion, they did only σπεισδουλα ὀξυνειν,—ſpur the free courſer; and that he would have done what he did without their interpoſition.

For a character of this excellent perſon, Mr. Say, drawn up as was ſuppoſed by archbiſhop Herring; See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer." p. 261. note.

* See the copies of the manuſcript referred to in the preceeding note.

known as it ought to be, that a degree in divinity is conferred at Lambeth without the previous ſubſcription which is required by the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge. A circumſtance this, which would make it more eligible to many, than the apprehenſion of merely performing the academical exerciſe before a profeſſor, who might have taken his firſt degree under the party who keeps the act. It ſhould not, however, be inſinuated that this exemption from ſubſcription had any weight with Dr. Jortin: he ſays nothing of it himſelf, and I am not diſpoſed to travel into the regions of conjecture, but to relate a narrative of facts. His readily renouncing, for a time, the uſe of the athanaſian creed, which we are told upon the authority of Whiſton *; and

* "About the year 1736," ſays Whiſton, "and before queen Caroline died, Mr. Jorton, a great and learned friend of mine, and from whom I afterwards received a remedy of Sir Edward Hulſe's for a great diſorder I was then in, which by God's bleſſing, ſaved my life, told me, that the late duke of Somerſet, a great athanaſian, once forbad his chaplain to read the athanaſian creed, (which I imagined was occaſioned by a ſuggeſtion from the queen; to whom I had

and from other inſtances of his diſlike of the uſe of that creed, which have been mentioned by a friend now living; together with his repeated expreſſions of diſapprobation of ſubſcription, in its preſent form at leaſt, which are to be found in the courſe of his writings †, raiſe ſuſpicions of this kind; but they are only ſuſpicions. And as he afterwards ſub-

 ſcribed,

I had complained, that although ſhe was queen, that creed was not yet laid aſide:) whereupon Mr. Jortin left off the ſame creed for ſome time." See Whiſton's Memoirs, ſecond edition, vol. i. p. 298 and 299.—Where he goes on to ſay, "Mr. Jortin has alſo lately publiſhed a very good book for the chriſtian religion: which I ſuppoſe he believes, as do the reſt of his brethren, but *hardly in earneſt*, ſo as to ſuffer any thing for it. Which believing *in earneſt*, it is next to impoſſible for one of his abilities to do, while he has not publicly repented of his having ſo often formerly curſed the Euſebians, or primitive chriſtians." Jortin's life and writings were devoted to the advancement of learning and rational chriſtianity, but neither he, nor his admired Eraſmus, any more than father Paul, had the ſpirit of Luther, or the determined temper of Whiſton.

† See "Remarks on E. H." vol. ii. p. 225. and vol. iii. p. 85 and 86. "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 198 and 199, alſo p. 609. See alſo his "Tracts philological," &c. vol. i. 417—427. for Strictures on the articles, ſubſcriptions, teſts, &c.

ſcribed, more than once, on admiſſion to his ſubſequent preferments, they cannot be inſiſted upon with any confidence; for I truſt he would no more have violated the clear convictions of his conſcience, for the ſake of a good living, than for the purchaſe of an empty compliment.

Some obvious remarks may be allowed us here, without hurt to our hiſtory, which may the more eaſily admit of them, as they are of real importance in their conſequences, though not particularly concerned with the caſe or perſon of Dr. Jortin. In this diſpenſing privilege, poſſeſſed by the primate, and which is alſo extended to the granting diſpenſations for holding two livings, it ſhould ſeem there is more diſcernment and diſcretion ſuppoſed to belong to his grace, than may be found in the collected wiſdom of the two univerſities. If the Lambeth honors and immunities are not beſtowed upon too eaſy terms, Oxford and Cambridge give theirs upon very hard ones. And as I do not apprehend that experience will juſtify any imputation againſt the expediency of the archiepiſcopal

archiepiſcopal indulgences, the practice itſelf, at once deſtroys the commonly preſumed neceſſity of the academical reſtrictions. So, likewiſe, if a diſpenſation to hold two livings may be ſafely granted without ſubſcription, may it not be aſked, on what reaſonable principle can it be required for inſtitution to one? And again, as ſubſcription is not required of biſhops at their conſecration, wherefore is it demanded, and how can it conſiſtently be required of prieſts and deacons at their ordination?

But we will proceed with our author. In the ſame year (1755,) in which he was preferred to his degree in divinity, he publiſhed his "Six diſſertations on different ſubjects," which "are equally remarkable, (ſays Dr. Knox) for taſte, learning, originality, and ingenuity."* They are upon "ſubjects theological, moral, and hiſtorical, and as ſuch," ſays their author in a very ſhort preface, "of general uſe and application. The laſt eſſay," adds he, "is rather of the philological

* See Knox's "Eſſays," as before.

philological kind, and intended for thoſe who are ſomewhat converſant with the claſſic writers, and with the learned languages."

The firſt, third, fourth, and fifth of theſe diſſertations retain the form of ſermons, and bear internal evidence of their having been compoſitions intended for, and perhaps delivered from, the pulpit.

The ſubject of the *firſt* diſſertation is "the doctrines of divine aſſiſtance and human liberty." To this is prefixed, (Epheſians ii. 5.) *By grace ye are ſaved.* Our author, in the firſt place, conſiders the queſtion as a metaphyſical ſubject, and then the various ſenſes of the word "myſtery," and the nature and extent of that ſalvation promiſed by the apoſtle Paul. He next proceeds to diſcuſs the meaning of the word "grace;" how our ſalvation is owing to this grace; and how it is owing to our own endeavours.

The more general ſpread of calviniſm probably directed Dr. Jortin to the conſideration of the ſubject of this, and ſome of the other diſſertations in the volume before us, and they are well deſerving of the ſerious and

and diſpaſſionate attention of all profeſſing chriſtians, particularly of thoſe whoſe warm imaginations may take the lead of their better judgment. " As to the divine aſſiſtance, or the ordinary influence of the holy ſpirit upon the ſoul of man, it is not to be expected that we ſhould determine how often and upon what occaſions it is imparted, or explain in what manner it is performed, becauſe it cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the operations of the mind itſelf, as every ingenuous chriſtian will own. No one can ſhew where the action of the human ſpirit ends, and where the action of the divine ſpirit begins. But as man is a rational creature, and as reaſon is the nobleſt of his faculties, we may juſtly conclude that the holy ſpirit acts upon him in a way conformable to his nature, and principally by ſtrengthening and improving his underſtanding, which will naturally have a good effect upon his behaviour; and conſequently the ſureſt evidence a chriſtian can give of having this divine aſſiſtance, is, to reaſon juſtly and to act honeſtly. This, I ſay, is the beſt proof or

teſt, though it be one which will by no means pleaſe or ſuit fanatics and enthuſiaſts."

In the concluſion, as the reſult of the inquiry, he obſerves, that " when the ſcriptures tell us in ſome places that we are ſaved by " grace," and, in other places, that good men work out their own ſalvation, there is no inconſiſtency in this. They are ſaved by grace, becauſe without God's favorable aſſiſtance and acceptance of their imperfect endeavours, they could not of themſelves acquire eternal life; and, at the ſame time, it is no leſs true that they work out their own ſalvation, becauſe unleſs they exert their own powers, the grace of God alone, will in no wiſe force them to be ſaved. Thus God's working in or with us, and our working together with God, are eaſily reconciled. And ſo likewiſe are thoſe places of ſcripture in which the wicked are repreſented uſually as hardening themſelves, and ſometimes as being hardened of God. They harden themſelves, becauſe it is by their choice, by their own obſtinacy and perverſeneſs that they become

come obdurate; and they are hardened of God, not by any proper and immediate act of God depriving them of reaſon and liberty, or compelling them to do evil; but quite on the contrary, by his continuing to give them both motives and opportunities to do well, which gifts being rejected and abuſed, are the innocent cauſe, or the occaſion of their greater wickedneſs, and in this ſenſe they are hardened by the very goodneſs of God. Beſides, in the ſtyle of the ſcriptures, God is often ſaid to do, what he only permits to be done, and in all other languages alſo, the occaſion is put for the cauſe, both as to perſons, and as to things. *I came not to ſend peace upon earth, but a ſword*, ſays our lord; that is, my goſpel, though it ought to produce peace and love, will prove the occaſion of ſtrife and enmity.

" Thus the doctrine of divine grace, and the doctrine of free-will, or human liberty, unite and conſpire in a friendly manner to our everlaſting good. The firſt is adapted to excite in us gratitude, faith, and humility; the

the ſecond to awaken our caution, and to quicken our diligence."

The *ſecond* diſſertation, being hiſtorical, is written in a manner wholly different from the firſt, though in ſubject matter connected with it. It is on the controverſies concerning predeſtination and grace.

The hiſtory commences with the riſe of this diſpute between Pelagius, a defender of free will and human liberty, and Auguſtin, who was a fataliſt, about the beginning of the fifth century. The account down to the following century is chiefly abridged from Le Clerc. Concerning the ſubſequent period, mention is made only of a few memorable things relating to it.

There is one obſervation deſerving of particular notice, not only as being peculiarly applicable to the controverſies on the preſent ſubject, but to other very intereſting theological queſtions. "Never was there a diſpute," ſays he, "more embarraſſed than this; becauſe each party, being preſſed by ſome troubleſome conſequence, endeavoured to ſhun the difficulty, by uſing terms to which they

they gave a ſenſe different from that which their adverſaries aſcribed to the ſame words." Such conduct cannot be too ſeverely reprehended, becauſe it is ſubverſive of all uſeful knowledge and common honeſty; when practiſed to elude the diſcovery of truth, it is baſe and diſingenuous; when to ſcreen the diſputant from the conſequences of his opinion, it is cowardly and unmanly. The ſame difficulties have been introduced and multiplied, by the ſame behaviour, in the diſputes which have been held in the chriſtian world relating to the doctrine of the trinity; and this duplicity, veiled under the ſacred name of learning, is continued in our own times. Many modern as well as ancient writers have been wont to affect, in their writings, an accommodating ſoundneſs in the faith, who have, nevertheleſs, been ſtrongly, and, I think, juſtly ſuſpected of not really entertaining the unequivocal import of the terms, or even the arguments they have uſed. But have artfully introduced unintelligible diſtinctions, and caſt them, like a mantle, over the plain and reaſonable, and genuine goſ-

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pel of Chriſt. By this ſad miſapplication of much learning and eminent abilities, which has, unhappily for the chriſtian cauſe, been more practiſed in theology than in philoſophy, many ſerious and important truths have greatly ſuffered; and the light attainable by the human mind, has been withheld from diſpelling the general darkneſs which hung over the intellectual world at large.

There is neither leſs preſumption, nor leſs fallibility in the deciſions of a council than of an individual, if they be intended to affect any beſides the parties who perſonally and voluntarily concur in them. Our author very properly places them in that point of view, from which alone we can derive advantage from them; for their hiſtory being once known, (and the hiſtory of one, is pretty nearly the hiſtory of all,) the conſequence follows of courſe. "The different views and intereſts of the church of Rome," (writes Dr. Jortin, who profeſſes at the ſame time to have been obliged to Le Clerc,) "or the factions which happened to be ſtronger or weaker,

weaker, led her to abſolve and to condemn the ſelf ſame doctrine under different denominations. Each party either magnified or deſpiſed her authority, according as they were treated by her, and pretended to hold in abomination the opinions which had been anathematized as heretical, for fear of offending her, whilſt they really maintained them under other names, and in other expreſſions. The church of Rome condemned St. Auguſtin and St. Thomas without being willing to do ſo, and defended the doctrines of the ſemi-pelagians, or of the reformed, without ſuffering them to be acknowledged. The divines, embarraſſed by equivocal expreſſions, and full of perplexity, could not diſtinguiſh friends from foes. The people, ſtunned and heated with theſe diſputes, took ſide, without knowing wherefore. The powers acted, as is uſual, not with any diſcernment of the merits of the cauſe, but by intereſt, and at the inſtigation of thoſe in whom they confided, without any reaſon to depend upon their ſincerity or their ſkill; and oppreſſed and condemned one ſide, without being informed

formed of the truth, which if the eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies defended, it was by mere chance, as at other times they oppoſed it no leſs at random. Their equivocal deciſions were eluded by ſubtle diſtinctions which they dared not to diſcuſs. Violence was employed to ruin a party, for fear of being treated in the ſame manner, if it prevailed: and all theſe unrighteous proceedings were maſked with the godly pretence of maintaining orthodox doctrines, which want nothing beſides liberty of conſcience and a fair hearing, to ſatisfy reaſonable perſons and to plead their own cauſe. It is to be feared that chriſtians will purſue the ſame methods, of diſputing about the means and helps to obtain moral goodneſs, without ſtudying to practiſe the thing itſelf. This account, however, may be of ſome uſe to teach men how to behave in like circumſtances, and to avoid the faults of others, without which a knowledge of thoſe quarrelſome tranſactions will be of ſmall importance."

From our author's apprehenſion of the revival of the ſect of goſpellers, (who, according

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to Burnet, thought that if they magnified Chriſt much, and depended on his merits and interceſſion, they could not periſh which way ſoever they led their lives,) in the calviniſts of our own time, he no leſs candidly than juſtly obſerves, that "to reaſon with ſuch perſons, ſignifies little; reaſon, as well as learning, is what they ſhun and diſregard, and to all your arguments they will oppoſe their own feelings and experience. To oppreſs and perſecute them is ſcandalous in itſelf, and can produce no good effect. Never was any man beaten into a right underſtanding, and never did God give a bleſſing to ſuch proceedings. All that remains is to caution and exhort thoſe who have not caught the infection, and to try if we can in ſome meaſure ſerve and ſecure the next generation."

The ſtate of our own country, at the time of the ſynod of Dort, in the beginning of of the laſt century, is repreſented in a way that holds more true in reſpect of the generally prevailing opinion of individuals, than of the eſtabliſhed eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the kingdom. Dr. Jortin ſays, "we

alſo

alſo were much divided in our opinions concerning the controverted articles; but our divines having taken the liberty to think and judge for themſelves, and the civil government not interpoſing, it hath come to paſs that, from that time to this, almoſt all perſons here of any note for learning and abilities have bid adieu to calviniſm, have ſided with the remonſtrants, and have left the fataliſts to follow their own opinions, and to rejoice, (ſince they can rejoice,) in a religious ſyſtem, conſiſting of human creatures without liberty, doctrines without ſenſe, faith without reaſon, and a God without mercy."*

It will appear to any impartial perſon that ſome qualification or abatement in this account is neceſſary to bring it nearer to the matter of fact. Our divines had taken the liberty to determine theſe queſtions in favor of the calviniſts more

* "This ſyſtem," obſerves Dr. Jortin, "ſo far as it relates to the eternal miſery of infants for the fault of Adam, is the very fable of the wolf and the lamb:

Ante hos ſex menſes male, ait, dixiſti mihi.
Reſpondit agnus; equidem natus non eram.
Pater, hercule, tuus, inquit, maledixit mihi.

more than half a century before the time of which he is ſpeaking, not only for themſelves, but unfortunately for their ſucceſſors and their poſterity; and had alſo ſo effectually united themſelves with the civil government, that they became inſeparable, although, alas! they could not indemnify us againſt the conſequences of implicit faith.

Heylin is obſerved to "have written the hiſtory of the *five points*, in which he endeavours to ſhew that the church of England, though willing to tolerate the calviniſts, yet hath always been of the opinion of the remonſtrants." Heylin's endeavours were not wanting, but he was engaged in waſhing a blackmoor white, and we need not add, that he was unſucceſsful. But Whitby, with many others ſince his time, who have taken the ſcriptures alone for their authority, and written upon election, reprobation, and original ſin, have confuted calviniſm, as Jortin ſays "even to demonſtration."

The concluding reflection, which immediately follows, is naturally ſuggeſted by the ſubject, and is ſo ſingularly juſt and ſtriking,

and does ſo much honor to the liberal and enlarged mind that dictated it, that I cannot reſiſt the temptation to tranſcribe it. "He who is deſirous to find religious truth, muſt ſeek her in the holy ſcriptures, interpreted by good ſenſe and ſober criticiſm, and embrace no theological ſyſtems any farther than as they are found conſiſtent with the word of God, with right reaſon, and with themſelves. A theological ſyſtem is too often a temple conſecrated to implicit faith, and he who enters in there to worſhip, inſtead of leaving his ſhoes, after the eaſtern manner, muſt leave his underſtanding at the door; and it will be well if he find it, when he comes out again."

The *third* Diſſertation, on the "duty of judging candidly and favorably of others, and of human nature," has for its immediate ſubject the doctrine of charity as recommended by the apoſtle Paul, (1 Cor. xiii. 5.) *Charity—thinketh no evil.*

The general meaning of commentators upon this text, is admitted; in other words, it is agreed that chriſtian "charity is not cenſorious,

cenſorious, that it thinketh favorably of others when there is room for it, and thinketh not hardly of them, unleſs manifeſt reaſon require it."

But, Mr. Bayle* having conſidered this amiable diſpoſition inculcated by the goſpel, rather as an injudicious weakneſs, than as a good quality, Dr. Jortin undertakes the particular conſideration of his argument; and the ſervice done to the cauſe of revelation is both acceptable and ſeaſonable, inaſmuch as the reaſoning of the French philoſopher is much admired and adopted by his diſciples unto this very hour. Our author very fully and impartially ſtates the objection of Bayle, uniting the fact objected to, and the argument produced in ſupport of that objection, and analytically proceeds to the confutation of them. And as the objection is founded

* "Bayle," as Jortin obſerves in the former Diſſertation, p. 109. "in his diſputes againſt the wiſdom and the goodneſs of God, being puſhed by his antagoniſts, and compelled to declare what ſort of a chriſtian he pretended to be, profeſſed himſelf a predeſtinarian proteſtant of the moſt rigid ſort; but no proteſtant of any denomination ever was ſimple enough to believe him."

in the moſt debaſing, as well as falſe, notions of mankind, Dr. Jortin vindicates the dignity of human nature, from the ſtate of the fact, and from the motives which may be ſuppoſed to influence the human mind.

The ſceptics on this queſtion, like the jaundiced eye, are apt to ſee things through a diſfiguring medium. "As they have commonly no good opinion of God, ſo have they no favorable opinion of men; in ſhort, ſome of them," ſays even our candid diſſertator, "have no eſteem for themſelves, and finding little moral honeſty at home, in their own breaſts, they are willing to ſuppoſe the reſt of the world to be no better."

Before the *fourth* Diſſertation on "the love of praiſe and reputation, and the proper bounds and degree of that love,"—is placed a text from the apoſtle John, (xii. 43.) *For they loved the praiſe of men, more than the praiſe of God.*

An unreaſonable deference to the opinion and praiſe of men continues to this day a ſad hindrance to the free and full declaration of faith in Chriſt, as it was with the greater

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part of the jews in our lord's time. But theſe perſons are not here condemned becauſe they loved the praiſe of men, but becauſe they loved it more than the praiſe of God.

The ſubject is therefore divided; and it is obſerved and ſhewn, that we may love the praiſe of men in a certain degree; but that our love of it ſhould be moderate.

"The love of praiſe," ſays he "ſeems to be natural to us, and a part of ſelf-love. We love ourſelves; we deſire therefore that others ſhould eſteem us, ſhould think and ſpeak well of us; we ſeem to multiply ourſelves by having a place in the thoughts of ſo many perſons, and to triumph in ſome manner over our *laſt enemy*, when our name ſurvives with honor after we are gone hence.

"This general love of praiſe manifeſtly tends to the good of ſociety. This paſſion encouraged in all polite nations hath been one of the great ſprings and principles of uſeful and commendable actions both in the ſubject and in the magiſtrate. The deſire of

reputation hath taught men to deſpiſe danger and to expoſe their lives for the public, to undergo labor and fatigue, to ſtudy inceſſantly, to deny themſelves many pleaſures; it hath made them deſirous of ſurpaſſing even the beſt and the moſt eminent. The love of reputation is neceſſarily attended with the fear of diſgrace and contempt, and the fear of diſgrace hath reſtrained ſome perſons from baſe and diſhoneſt actions, when no other tie would hold them, and religion itſelf was inſufficient for that purpoſe.

" Thus hath this paſſion often proved advantageous to civil ſociety; for it has allured men to do thoſe actions willingly and chearfully which are never ſo well performed when they ariſe from compulſion; it has had an influence upon them when other motives would have failed, when there was no recompenſe to be expected, when their ſervices were repaid with ingratitude. The honor which men have purſued ſo eagerly coſt the public little or nothing, and yet hath been more valued than riches by thoſe who acquired it. A picture, an inſcription, a

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ſpear, a crown of oak or of laurel, a ſtatue, a public commendation,—for ſuch recompences men have affronted dangers, and loſt their lives. They who love to ſet things in the leaſt favorable light, may compare theſe heroes to the ſavages often mentioned in books of voyages, who exchange ſheep and oxen for a few beads and ribbands, or a bit of a looking-glaſs."

The eſſential advantages of character are ſtrongly and juſtly marked. "Reputation," ſays he "ſometimes brings with it ſeveral real advantages, and is more valuable to us in the effects which it produces, than it is in itſelf. A good character may ſerve to many uſeful purpoſes. It may raiſe us up friends, it may help us to acquire what is neceſſary for our ſupport in life, it may enable us to do ſervice to the unfortunate and the deſerving, by giving us credit and weight amongſt thoſe with whom we converſe; our example by being obſerved may incite others to imitate us; our reputation may be profitable to our poſterity; it may be both an advantage and an honor to them to

have deſcended from us, and for our ſake they may meet with kindneſs.

" We may obſerve farther in behalf of reputation, that to eſteem it ſeems to argue a good temper and a benevolent diſpoſition towards mankind. We pay reſpect and civility to our fellow creatures when we deſire their approbation, and take ſome pains to acquire and preſerve it, and ſet ſome value upon it. It is a ſign that we honor them, when we are willing that they ſhould honor us. On the contrary, they who ſlight reputation are uſually perſons who have no deſire of excelling, no induſtry, no ſhame, and whom it would be no credit to reſemble."

After this apology for, or vindication of, a reaſonable love of fame, it ſeemed neceſſary to account for the contrary ſentiment, ſo far as it has been maintained by reſpectable authorities. And Dr. Jortin is not one of thoſe light infantry men, who ſlip beſide a difficulty which ſtands ſo directly in the front againſt them.

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"It muſt be acknowledged," he owns, "that there have been philoſophers, wiſe and virtuous men, recorded in hiſtory, who have profeſſed a great contempt for the praiſe and good opinion of others." But apprehends "their meaning was, that a man ſhould perſiſt in his duty, and deſpiſe the cenſures of the ignorant and vicious multitude: or by condemning the love of praiſe they intended to condemn an immoderate love of it, and a ſlaviſh regard to it in all our actions: or they had, amongſt many good qualities, a little pride and ſingularity, they deſpiſed too much the bulk of mankind, and therefore deſired not their approbation: or perhaps they expected to be admired on that very account, and to find eſteem by ſhunning it; as indeed it often happened to them, for reputation will fly from thoſe who purſue her in an improper manner, and will purſue thoſe who ſeem to fly from her, if they deſerve her favor: laſtly, they owned, that although the applauſe of the populace was of no value, yet the approbation of the wiſe and good was a thing deſirable. Theſe

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few perſons excepted, the reſt of the deſpiſers of reputation have been ſuch as had no reputation to keep or to loſe."

The cloſe of this part of the argument is well worth our notice, although it lengthens our extract beyond the uſual proportion of the whole. "From theſe obſervations concerning praiſe we may conclude, that the love of it if it be not immoderate, and leads us into faults, is lawful; for ſince this love is natural to us, ſince the common intereſt requires that it ſhould be encouraged, and thoſe nations have flouriſhed moſt, in which praiſe and honor have been judiciouſly beſtowed and generally purſued,—ſince the poſſeſſion of it may prove beneficial to ourſelves and to our friends and to our poſterity, and hurtful to none,—ſince a deſire to ſtand fair in the opinion of others is a reſpect and civility paid to our acquaintance, to our fellow-citizens, and to human nature,—ſince a contempt of reputation appears blameable, and often proceeds from very bad cauſes,—ſince the holy ſcriptures condeſcend to comply with our inclinations for it, and permit us to ſeek it, and propoſe

propoſe it ſometimes as an incitement to virtue,—ſince our lord conferred it as a reward upon a grateful and a generous action, (Matt. xxvi. 10---13.) it ſeems to follow that it may be ranked, if not amongſt thoſe things which ſtrictly and truly deſerve to be called good, yet, at leaſt, amongſt thoſe things which are convenient, which may be in ſome degree eſteemed, without any diſgrace to our reaſon, or injury to our religion."

Theſe arguments are entitled to their proper weight, but will admit of ſuch qualification as may correct an immoderate love of praiſe, and prevent our advancing from the uſe to the abuſe of a paſſion, which may be made productive of much happineſs.

" The love of reputation is" admitted to be " a paſſion, and as ſuch that it may be carried to exceſs; but," it is added, that " of all the paſſions it is perhaps the leaſt apt to miſlead us. A deſire to be eſteemed by good and worthy perſons incites us to imitate thoſe whoſe approbation we ſeek. The love of riches, the love of ſenſual pleaſures, the love of idleneſs and of everlaſting amuſements,

amuſements, the love of arbitrary power and dominion, theſe are the inordinate affections, and theſe the objects which ſeduce men from their duty, and from the way to eternal happineſs; and they loſe the race whilſt they ſtoop to gather up theſe golden apples."

Under the ſecond diviſion of the ſubject, it is ſaid, and ſaid very juſtly, that "we muſt take care that our love of reputation be diſcrete and moderate, free from pride, affectation, vanity, forwardneſs, conceit, envy, detraction, and hypocriſy."

Even from reaſons of good policy and expedience we muſt not love the praiſe of the world too much, becauſe we may not be able to acquire it; becauſe we may ſuffer in our reputation undeſervedly, and ought to bare it patiently; becauſe praiſe is often ſo ill beſtowed, that even upon this account it is leſs valuable than it would elſe be; becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible to enjoy reputation in its full extent; and becauſe it may be hurtful to thoſe who do poſſeſs it. For "in bad times, and when they who are in high ſtations are greatly corrupted, and wicked men bear

bear rule, it is a dangerous thing to be beloved by the public, and to deſerve it, and hiſtory will inform us of not a few who have ſuffered upon that account." Again, "we ſhould not be too fond of reputation, becauſe we may not only be diſappointed and little eſteemed, but God may permit in very kindneſs to us, and for our own benefit, either to chaſtiſe us for ſome faults which we have committed, and to mortify in us pride and vanity, or to keep from us a reward which would ſpoil our beſt diſpoſitions." So likewiſe, "if by an exceſſive fondneſs of reputation we make it the principle and the end of our actions, it will certainly miſlead us, and probably give us much uneaſineſs. There are duties which ſometimes through the perverſeneſs or ignorance of the public are out of faſhion, and produce contempt or hatred. He who is greedy of applauſe will often neglect ſuch duties, and fall into reputable vices; he will never have the courage and the greatneſs of mind to purſue what is right through good report and through evil report. This was the caſe in the time of our ſaviour. Many there were

were who believed on him, but becauſe of the phariſees, they did not confeſs him, leſt they ſhould be put out of the ſynagogue; for they loved the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God.

" An exceſſive deſire of praiſe, joined, as it often is, to a fear of ridicule, or to falſe notions of honor, hath done inconceivable miſchief in the world. So alſo, he who hath his reputation principally in view, lies often under temptations to play the hypocrite, and to pretend that he poſſeſſes every excellence by which he ſees others obtain honor. Hence, he indulges a paſſion which may deſtroy his peace, and quiet, and perhaps treaſureth up to himſelf diſappointment and uneaſineſs.

" From the foregoing remarks, (which are abridged from our author,) we may make this concluſion, ſays he, that reputation may be numbered amongſt the things which are deſirable and advantageous. We may uſe all lawful means to acquire it, and to ſecure its continuance; and if we be careful and induſtrious in uſing the proper means, we have commonly a fair proſpect of ſucceeding. The caprice

caprice of the great and powerful cannot deprive us of this reward at leaſt. They can neither give it, nor take it away; and it is very well for the world that they cannot. The love of reputation, when directed by reaſon, is allowable; but reaſon muſt govern, and not be governed. Our love of it muſt be moderate: we muſt love it as a thing, which though pleaſant and profitable, is precarious, attended with ſome inconveniences, not eaſily kept, and ſometimes undeſervedly loſt, and, laſtly, of no uſe to us beyond the grave. We whoſe continuance here is ſo ſhort, are ſcarcely born for this world, or for any thing that this world can beſtow. Our reputation we can enjoy no longer than whilſt we live. A reputation after death, if it only begins then, is of ſmall value; it is like a favorable wind after a ſhipwreck. When we go hence, what good can ariſe to our own perſons from it? Here we muſt leave it, and here it will remain and ſurvive for a greater or a leſſer number of years, as time and chance ſhall determine.

" Good actions are a treaſure which we carry hence with us. If we are ſecure of theſe, it

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is no matter if the world be negligent of us, and we paſs over our days unregarded, and poſterity know not that ever we had a being. Our virtues are immortal, and true honor will be their recompenſe, an honor which we ſhall receive from God, from holy angels, and from juſt men made perfect, and which ſhall continue to all eternity. And this ſeems to ſuggeſt one reaſon for which we ſhould have ſome taſte, and entertain ſome value for reputation here, becauſe reputation may be part of our reward hereafter."

" The hiſtory and the character of Balaam," conſtitute the ſubject of the *fifth* Diſſertation; taking the text from Numbers xxii. 12. *And God ſaid unto Balaam; thou ſhalt not go with them: thou ſhalt not curſe the people, for they are bleſſed.*

The reaſon why our author undertook to explain and vindicate the hiſtory of Balaam, as recorded by Moſes, which, as he juſtly ſays, is extraordinary in all its parts, was, becauſe " it contains difficulties which have exerciſed the abilities, and divided the opinions of religious inquirers, it hath been matter of cavilling

cavilling and of ſport to unbelievers, and it affords moral inſtruction of great importance and of general uſe."

The firſt queſtion that is aſked, is, How came Moſes to the knowledge of theſe tranſactions? And Dr. Jortin anſwers, that as there is no intimation given, ſo there is no reaſon to imagine, that he had his knowledge by revelation. He had it then by information, which he might eaſily obtain concerning an event in his own time, and in the neighbourhood.

The fulfillment of the predictions of Balaam, leave no doubt of his being a prophet. He was a prieſt, and "ſeems alſo to have been a worſhipper of the true God; he dwelt in Meſopotamia, by the river Euphrates, at a conſiderable diſtance from the Moabites. His reputation was great, and extended through the nations round about, and he was thought to have ſuch intereſt in heaven, that whomſoever he bleſſed was bleſſed, and whomſoever he curſed, was curſed.

"The king of Moab, therefore, terrified at the approach of the Iſraelites, at the rapidity of their conqueſts, and at the deſtruction

of the warlike nations of the Amorites and of other people, conſulted with his neighbours the Midianites, what they ſhould do for their common ſafety. It was agreed upon that they ſhould ſend an embaſſy to Balaam, and prevail with him, by the force of intreaties joined to the ſtronger force of the preſents, to come and curſe the Iſraelites in a religious and ſolemn manner."

All this was done agreeably to notions which then very generally prevailed, and which were practiſed afterwards by the Romans.

The application of the Moabites to Balaam to curſe the Iſraelites was twice reſiſted by him, in a manner becoming a prophet and ſervant of God. Afterwards we read, *and God came to Balaam at night, and ſaid, If the men come to tell thee, riſe up, and go with them; but yet the word which I ſhall ſay unto thee, that thou ſhalt do.* So he went; *And God's anger was kindled becauſe he went, and the angel of the Lord ſtood in the way for an adverſary againſt him.*"—"Various ſolutions, and not improbable, ſays Jortin, have been offered to reconcile this account, that God

ſhould

ſhould give him leave to go, and yet be offended at him becauſe he went. But the angel of the Lord ſaid to him afterwards, *I went out to withſtand thee, becauſe thy way is perverſe before me.* Hence it may be inferred, that God was offended at him, not ſo much for his going, as for his going with bad views and for bad purpoſes."

The application from the Moabites being again renewed, it prevailed over his integrity; and he attempted to deſerve the preſents brought, and promiſes made by Balak, by ſacrificing to God in the hope to prevail with him to let him undertake the propoſed embaſſy. Failing in this ſcheme, he is repreſented to have proceeded further in iniquity, and to have "counſelled the Midianites to ſend their women amongſt them, to invite them to their religious ſolemnities, and to try to draw them into fornication and idolatry, by which they would forfeit the favor of God, and make him their enemy. The advice was followed, the experiment was made and ſucceeded ſo far that twenty and four thouſand Iſraelites were cut off for their iniquity and apoſtacy."

"To revenge this injury, the Iſraelites at the command of God, made war upon the Midianites and deſtroyed them; and having found Balaam among them, they put him to death alſo. And thus the evil overtook him, of which he ſeemed to have had a ſtrong foreboding, when he cried out, in the midſt of his prophecy, *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my laſt end be like his.* That is, May I be gathered to my fathers, at my own home, in peace, and in a good old age, which is the uſual end and the reward of the righteous."

Dr. Jortin next proceeds to conſider the things which befel Balaam on his journey, and which muſt be confeſſed, ſays he, to contain in them no ſmall difficulty. The angel appears in the way, the prophet ſees him not, but the aſs ſees him, and endeavours to ſhun him, and hurts her maſter; Balaam is angry, and ſtrikes the beaſt; the beaſt ſpeaks with an human voice, and reaſons and expoſtulates with him."

The ſolution offered by our author is modeſtly ſtated only "as a conjecture, not forced, or improbable,

improbable, or irreligious, or contrary to the reverence which is due to the ſacred writings. It is this; Balaam ſaw and did theſe things in a trance or viſion, in ſuch a viſion as other prophets frequently had on other occaſions."

Nor is it a new opinion, for, as he ſays, Maimonides, the learned jewiſh commentator, and, more lately, Le Clerc, have adopted it. And "ſuch interpretation is a medium between the ſentiments of thoſe who take the affair to have been altogether real, or altogether viſionary, and thinks it hath ſome advantages over both."*

That other prophets received information and inſtruction, in dreams, or trances and viſions, he proves from the accounts given by Peter and Paul; and from ſome paſſages in Hoſea, Jeremiah, Iſaiah and Ezekiel: and adds, that, in a philoſophical way, the literal interpretation is wholly inadmiſſible.

The circumſtances in a hiſtory of this kind, ſhort in itſelf, cannot well be abridged, without eſſential injury to the whole, for there is

* Upon the caſe of Balaam ſee biſhop Law's "Conſiderations," 5 edit. 1765, p. 74---76.

no ſuperfluity, nothing to ſpare. The argument is ingenious, and has ſome advantages over both the other ſchemes.

The inferences which he draws from this hiſtory are judicious, and ſo much compreſſed that I will recite them. " It ſets before us the infatuating power of ambition and covetouſneſs, and the folly and danger of ſetting the affections on the tranſitory objects of this life, and of ſacrificing religion and duty to dirty lucre, and to temporal advantages.

" Here is a man who had the honor to be a prieſt and a prophet; who had a great reputation in the world; who probably was not young, and had the leſs reaſon to be anxious about rewards, honors, and promotions; who ſeems to have been a worſhipper of the true God, and not ignorant of the moral duties, but well appriſed of the important truth, that to keep innocency and to do the thing that is right, will bring a man peace at the laſt; and that he who would die the death, muſt live the life of the righteous.

" The

" The devil,* in the form of money and preferment comes and tempts him, and he is in danger of yielding to the importunate ſeducer. But God hath compaſſion on him, and uſes all the methods to ſave him that are proper to be applied to a free agent. He forbids him to go with the meſſengers, he aſſures him that his deſigns would not proſper; he ſends an angel to meet him and to terrify him in the way; he compels him, inſtead of uttering curſes, to pronounce bleſſings upon the Iſraelites, and to foretel the proſperity of that people and the deſtruction of their adverſaries in ſuch expreſſions as plainly ſhewed, at the ſame time, that happineſs was the reward of piety and obedience, and that wickedneſs brought on miſery and ended in ruin. But all theſe kind warnings and corrections were loſt upon the prophet: vexed at his diſappointment, blinded

* The introduction of the devil, and the aſcription of ſo much miſchief to him, may be claſſed among the " ancient prejudices," of our author; but many perſons continue to think with Jortin on this ſubject, and this is not the place to diſpute the agency, much leſs the exiſtence, of this ſuppoſed enemy of mankind.

by his paſſions, and deaf to the divine admonitions, he hardens himſelf ſtill more, till at laſt he acts the part of the devil, and lays projects of ſeducing the Iſraelites from their allegiance to God, and then, inſtead of going home, he loiters amongſt the devoted nations, till deſtruction overtakes him.

" The world abounds with perſons, who, like Balaam, are ſlaves to covetouſneſs and ambition, and who reſemble him more or leſs, according as theſe predominant vices are checked and counterbalanced more or leſs by religion and conſcience.

" Some of them are quite eſtranged from virtue, have diſmiſſed all ſhame and remorſe, all moral ſenſe and diſcernment, and judge of good and evil by arithmetical rules of gain and loſs.

" Others are not ſo far gone: by the bleſſing of a proper education, and by a ſerious temper, they are confirmed in religious principles; the fear of God and the fear of man reſtrain them from groſſer enormities. Amongſt theſe you ſhall find perſons who have learning, knowledge, acuteneſs, dexterity

terity, and induſtry. But the love of money and of power lies lurking at the heart, and betrays itſelf from time to time in actions ſuitable to ſuch mean motives, and miſerable views. In many inſtances they are able to practiſe what is barely honeſt, but never can they do what is truly great.

" The worſt of all is, that theſe evil diſpoſitions are ſeldom corrected, but length of time, which weakens the bodily powers, rather inflames than leſſens the diſtempers of the ſoul. The man grows old, and his irregular paſſions remain young and lively; and this is moſt remarkably the caſe of avarice and rapaciouſneſs, which ſurvive the ſtrength of the body and the abilities of the mind, ſubject to no decay, and curſed with immortality.

" The goſpel, though it makes favorable allowances to human infirmities, and accepts of humble repentance and honeſt endeavours, yet holds no fellowſhip and makes no compoſition and truce with the worldly and ſelfiſh affections; it requires of all thoſe who would hope and expect a reward hereafter, to

ſet

ſet their affections, not on things below, but on things above, that the heart and the treaſure may be in the ſame place."

We are now come to the *ſixth* Diſſertation which was announced in the preface to be " rather of the philological kind, and intended for thoſe who are ſomewhat converſant with the claſſic writers and with the learned languages." It profeſſes to treat of " the ſtate of the dead, as deſcribed by Homer and Virgil;" and proceeds to conſider and ſtate ſeparately the ſentiments of each. And as the repreſentation here given of the latter of theſe poets involved ſome very ſingular conſequences with certain claſſics of his time, we will, in its proper place, relate the offence given by Dr. Jortin, and the proceedings and judgment given againſt him by the court of his friend Dr. Warburton.

With reſpect to Homer, Dr. Jortin reprobates the notion of his having been the author of the theology and mythology contained in his poems, alledging that he " had ſufficient excuſe and authority for the fables which he delivered; and that he introduced into

into his poems, by way of machinery, and with ſome decorations, theological legends contrived in more rude and ignorant times, and ſanctified by hoary age and venerable tradition.

"Whether Homer looked upon any of theſe theological tales as allegories, in which ſecret ſenſes were couched under a fabulous appearance, he ſhould not determine. Thus much is certain, that his ſcholiaſts and commentators have aſcribed to him many a ſubtle ſenſe which never entered into his thoughts. Thus, amongſt the moderns, father Harduin the father of paradoxes, hath propoſed a conceit fantaſtical enough to be his own, but yet borrowed partly from others."

So far from approving theſe conjectures, he pronounces Homer to be "a writer of great ſimplicity, and therefore that we may expect to find in him an account of the popular doctrines of Greece concerning the ſtate of the dead, with a few poetical embelliſhments; I ſay, few, becauſe the popular and the poetical religion ſeem in his days to have been nearly one and the ſame."

As

As our author has given his opinion of the comparative excellence of the two poems of the grecian bard, the ſentiments of a ſcholar of ſuch eminent critical judgment and claſſic taſte, may be acceptable to many of my readers, though not immediately tending to reſolve the inquiry propoſed in the title of this diſſertation. " I have ſometimes doubted a little," ſays he, " whether the Odyſſea were Homer's, on account of ſome ſmall difference, either real or imaginary, of ſtyle and ſyntax; but as antiquity hath generally aſcribed both poems to him, I chuſe to acquieſce in its determination, and ſhould ſcruple to deprive the venerable father of the poets of any part of his property. The Odyſſea is by no means unworthy of him, and if the Ilias hath more dignity, majeſty, correctneſs, fire, and ſpirit, the Odyſſea is more diverting and amuſing, and abounds more with the comic, and leſs with the tragic. In one point it hath the advantage over the Ilias, that the reader intereſts himſelf in the fate and fortunes of the hero, and is glad to ſee him ſafe at home, and triumphant

phant over his enemies; for the character of Ulyſſes, upon the whole, is inſinuating, amiable, and reſpectable, and he is repreſented as a prince who ever ruled with juſtice and mercy, and was the common father to all his ſubjects. But in the Ilias, the hero is a boiſterous, rapacious, mercenary, cruel, and unrelenting brute, and the reader pities none of his calamities, and is pleaſed with none of his ſucceſſes."

The various notions of the human ſoul in fabulous ſtory are almoſt infinite, and fanciful in the extreme; many of them are cited by Jortin, but it would make nothing to our purpoſe to repeat them here. And yet our author obſerves, in a ſort of ſummary of many detached citations, that "Homer wrote before the Greek philoſophy was cultivated, and we find in his doctrine of the ſoul no metaphyſical ſpeculations, nothing concerning the immateriality of the ſoul, or its pre-exiſtence, or its paſt eternity, or its tranſmigration, or its being a portion of the ſoul of the world, or of the deity.

"His

" His notions of the ſoul ſeem not to be the reſult of reaſonings upon the nature of God or man; but the remains of an old tradition, delivered down, in all probability, from the beginning of the world, and ſpread through all nations. The ancient fable of Pluto, as Le Clerc ſomewhere obſerves, is a probable proof that, before the days of this ſon of Saturn, it was an opinion commonly received, that the ſouls of men, after death, went to ſubterraneous abodes.

" His deſcription of the dead is ſo uncomfortable, that it was not at all calculated to inſpire either courage or virtue; but rather to make men paltroons, and knaves. Therefore the learned Greeks and the poets in the following times mended that part of his ſyſtem, and gave more encouragement to valour, to probity, and to piety.

" And yet, even in Homer's gloomy ſyſtem, the ſouls in the ſtate of ſeparation ſeem in ſome few reſpects to approach rather nearer to the divine nature than they did when they inhabited the body. They move with the ſwiftneſs of a deity, and they ſubſiſt

ſiſt and act and converſe without ſtanding in need of raiment, food, drink, or ſleep. The ſubſtance alſo of which the ſoul is compoſed ſeems to be like that of the gods, and to partake of immortality."

With regard to Homer's general deſcription of the ſtate of the dead, the account cloſes with the following judicious reflections. " It gives us pleaſure to trace in this moſt ancient poet, the important doctrines of a ſupreme God, a providence, a free agency in man, ſuppoſed to be conſiſtent with fate, or deſtiny, or preſcience, a difference between moral good and evil, inferior gods, or angels in the jewiſh and chriſtian ſyſtem, ſome favourable to men, others malevolent, and the immortality of the ſoul: but it gives us pain to find theſe notions ſo miſerably corrupted, that they muſt have had a very weak influence, to excite men to virtue, and to deter them from vice."

The account which the diſſertator gives of VIRGIL, opens with the following general introduction: " Homer having ſent Ulyſſes to the regions of the dead, to raiſe the ghoſt of

of Tireſias, and to conſult with him how he ſhould ſettle his domeſtic affairs and overcome his enemies, Virgil imitates his great maſter, and ſends Æneas to the infernal regions on much the ſame errand, to adviſe with his father Anchiſes; and upon this plan he hath contrived the ſixth book, which is the moſt reſplendent part of the Æneis; for if Virgil any where ſurpaſſeth Homer, it is here. Here he hath alſo given a more elegant and poetical account of the ſtate of the dead, by adopting in ſome meaſure the pythagorean and the platonic philoſophy.

" Every one knoweth that the Æneis was not completed to the author's ſatisfaction, and that he wanted much to deſtroy it. The ſixth book is more finiſhed than ſome of the reſt, and is beautiful in the parts, but upon the whole, it is obſcure, a fault from which Virgil is by no means free; and he who ſhall try the experiment, will find it hard enough to make out of it a ſyſtem tolerably conſiſtent, and to aſcertain the ſenſe of the author in ſome places.

" Here

" Here then is a field open for criticiſm, and all of us who attempt to explain and illuſtrate Virgil, have reaſon to hope that we may make ſome diſcoveries, and to fear that we may fall into ſome miſtakes; and this ſhould induce us to conjecture with freedom, to propoſe with diffidence, and to diſſent with civility.

" Virgil is a great borrower, and hath collected from ancient poets and philoſophers whatſoever ſuited his purpoſe. As to his mythology, he had a right to take it from his predeceſſors, and is ſufficiently juſtified by their authority in the uſe of poetical fables delivered by tradition, or of new fictions bearing a due reſemblance to the ancient ones."

With reſpect to the doctrine of a future ſtate, our author firſt recites the notions of Plato and then thoſe of Virgil.

" According to Plato," ſays he, " the greater part of human ſouls deſcend after death, to the Acheruſian lake, where they remain, ſome for a longer and ſome for a leſſer time, and then are ſent into new bodies.

" When the ſhades are carried, each to the place where the dæmon conducts them, then the good and the bad take their trial: and they who have behaved themſelves neither very well, nor very ill, go to Acheron, and there undergo purgations.

" The incurably wicked are caſt into Tartarus, whence they never are to be releaſed. They who have been wicked, but not to ſo great a degree, are alſo caſt into Tartarus, and let out, and caſt in again; and ſo on, till they have made their peace with thoſe whom they have injured.

" The ſouls which have been eminently good, when they are releaſed from this life, aſcend up to the pure regions of the air, and will never more be re-united to a body, but continue in peace and happineſs to all eternity.

" This is the doctrine delivered in the *Phædo*.

" Virgil's regions of the dead may be thus divided. There is,

1. " A ſtate of excluſion, on the borders of the infernal realms, for the unburied.

2. " A ſtate

2. " A ſtate of introduction, where are placed thoſe who had ſhortened their days, or had not lived out their appointed time, according to the common courſe of nature. In this are the apartments of the infants, the unjuſtly condemned, the ſelf-murderers, the lovers, and the warriors.

3. " A ſtate of purgatory, which Æneas did not ſee, nor was it proper that he ſhould enter there to diſturb the penitents, whilſt they were undergoing their purifications. Whether this purgatory were in Tartarus or not, the poet hath not told us: but it ſeems to have been diſtinct from it.

4. " A ſtate of puniſhment in Tartarus, which alſo Æneas did not ſee.

5. " A ſtate of recompence and of happineſs in Elyſium.

As we ſhall have occaſion, before we cloſe the preſent chapter, to chronicle the offence taken by the maſter and ſcholars of the Warburtonian ſchool, we will previouſly recite the peculiarly reprehenſible paragraphs for which our author was charged with high crimes and miſdemeanors.

"Virgil," ſays Dr. Jortin, "hath placed in the infernal regions the ſouls of infants weeping and wailing. It is an ingenious conjecture propoſed in the *Divine Legation*, that the poet might deſign to diſcountenance the curſed practice of expoſing and murdering infants. It might be added, that Virgil had perhaps alſo in view to pleaſe Auguſtus, who was deſirous of encouraging matrimony, and the education of children, and extremely intent upon repeopling Italy, which had been exhauſted by the civil wars. But if theſe infants were to be left in this lamentable ſtate for all eternity, the poet's ſyſtem would be horribly ſhocking, and only fit for a ſupralapſarian profeſſor. How long then were they to weep and wail? Perhaps, as long as they ought to have lived upon earth, according to the common courſe of nature. After this period we may ſuppoſe that they took a ſmall ſip of the Lethean water, and were ſent into new bodies.

Again: "That the ſubterraneous adventures of Æneas were intended by Virgil to repreſent the *initiation* of his hero, is an elegant

gant conjecture, which hath been laid before the public, and ſet forth to the beſt advantage, by a learned friend."

And a few pages afterwards he ſays, "Let us ſuppoſe that Virgil by the deſcent of Æneas intended to repreſent his *initiation*, ſtill the troubleſome concluſion remains as it was, and from the manner in which the hero is diſmiſſed after the ceremonies, we learn that in thoſe initiations the machinery and the whole ſhew was, (in the poet's opinion) a repreſentation of things which had no truth and reality."

Dr. Jortin emphatically obſerves, that "Virgil, after having ſhone out with full ſplendor through the ſixth book, ſets in a cloud. He firſt repreſents the ſtate of departed ſouls in Aïdes as a reality, and this he was obliged to do by the very nature of his ſubject; and then he intimates that the whole is a lying fable, and he intimates it in ſuch a manner, that it ſeems ſcarcely poſſible to clear him from this imputation.

"Virgil drew up a poetical deſcription of the infernal regions, upon the commonly

received notions of poſthumous rewards and puniſhments. His ſyſtem might paſs on ſtill as true or probable in the main, and might have its uſe and influence, ſuch as it was, though he thought fit to intimate at the ſame time that he himſelf was of another ſchool."

Our author afterwards offers ſome probable reaſons for this conduct in the poet; firſt, "Why Virgil intimated that the deſcent of Æneas was not real? And, ſecondly, Why he intimated, that all which had been related by him concerning the ſtate of the dead and the infernal regions was fiction and falſehood?

"It would make one ſmile," as our good natured critic very pertinently obſerves, "to ſee poetical divines wonderfully tender and candid in their judgments of Virgil's philoſophical and theological principles, looking upon him as upon a devout and religious creature, one who was honored with glimpſes of the glad tidings of ſalvation, and a kind of *minor prophet*. Yet I would not willingly

cenſure

cenſure them; for after all, a man can have no more judgment than falls to his ſhare; and beſides, it ſeems to be an error on the right ſide, a good natured miſtake, an innocent ſimplicity which thinketh no evil."

The following remark cloſes the diſſertation and volume now before us. "Hence it appears, that the learned age of Auguſtus, with all its polite advantages, was ſadly corrupted in matters of religion; that the Epicurean doctrine had ſpread itſelf through the Roman empire, and that perſons of the brighteſt abilities and higheſt ſtations being unhappily infected with it, were men of that FIRST PHILOSOPHY, which in a chriſtian country, and in the eighteenth century, hath been publicly recommended to us by patriots and geniuſes, compared with whom Epicurus was a gentleman, a philoſopher, a reaſoner, and a ſcholar.

"Such was the ſtate of the world in the days of Auguſtus and of Virgil. A plain proof how much it ſtood in need of that divine teacher, that SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS,

who, to diſpel thoſe gloomy clouds, aroſe with ſalvation in his rays!"*

We muſt now allow ourſelves a little time to recapitulate ſome circumſtances relating to the former friendſhip between doctors Warburton and Jortin, and the interruption it ſuffered from the publication of the preceding diſſertation.

Dr.

* In the Journal Britannique publiſhed at the Hague, vol. xvii. mois de Nov. et de Dec. 1755, p. 374. is an account of the "Six Diſſertations" now before us and their author, which is well-worth reciting. I tranſcribe the following tranſlation of it from the advertiſement prefixed to a volume of the "Tracts philological, &c." publiſhed 1790, p. xiii.—"The author of theſe Diſſertations," ſays the journaliſt, "is a man equally diſtinguiſhed for ſcience and virtue. Of the higheſt claſs in literature, his unſtudied regard for *words* is ſolely proportioned to their conſequence, as as they ſtand in connection with his ſubject, and conduce to the knowledge of *things*. Perfectly familiarized to ancient writers, and deep in the reſearches of antiquity, he never ſeeks to raiſe himſelf on the depreſſion of the times in which he lives, by giving an undue preference to thoſe which have gone before him. His ſacred profeſſion naturally diſpoſed him to conſult the inſtruction of others; and to effect this, he preſents to them a religion, ſimple in its appearance, and calculated to render them happy in exiſtence here,

Dr. Warburton's having obtruded ſome extravagant and chimerical notes of his own upon the Viſions of Rice Evans, as an appendix to the firſt volume of Jortin's "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory," has been noticed before,* as alſo the ſevere but merited reproof he received from the author of "Confuſion worſe confounded."

When

here, and prepared for their great change. He is more ſollicitous to inveſtigate truth than to fabricate novelty; and, as being unſhackled by any ſyſtem, he aims not at ſingularity; ſeldom leads you to expect demonſtration; and when he does, is ſure to fulfil his engagements. In diſpoſition equally modeſt and temperate, he does not make it his boaſt to depreciate either thoſe who run with him in the ſame courſe, or thoſe who think differently from him. From theſe outlines, dictated by my own heart, confirmed by the public voice, and ſanctioned by a prelate of univerſal eſteem amongſt men of worth and letters, few readers, in Britain at leaſt, can fail to anticipate the name of DOCTOR JORTIN."—Thus far the journaliſt, who, if I am not miſtaken was Dr. Maty of the Britiſh Muſeum, father of the late rev. Henry Maty. When he ſtates Dr. Jortin to be "unſhackled by any ſyſtem," he muſt have forgotten that the liberal proteſtantiſm of the church of England, requires that its clergy ſhall firſt ſubſcribe,—then inquire,—and afterwards diſſent at their peril. No man under ſuch ſubſcription can be ſaid to be "unſhackled by any ſyſtem."

* See p. 88. and ſeq.

When Dr. Jortin was prevailed upon to accept of Dr. Warburton's hand, he very unfortunately joined him in a compliment paid to biſhop Pearce.*

Dr. Warburton had anticipated the expectations of the public in favor of Dr. Jortin before his "Remarks" were given to the world, by telling them, that "they were compoſed like his life, not in the ſpirit of controverſy, nor, what is ſtill worſe, of party, but of truth and candor."†

The author of the "Divine Legation of Moſes demonſtrated," had, it ſeems, given a viſionary account of Æneas's deſcent into hell, and his return from thence, ſaying that the ſcenery of what paſſed in the ſhades deſcribed by Virgil had reference to the Eleuſinian myſteries.

This was queſtioned by Dr. Jortin in his ſixth diſſertation, who was ſo far from agreeing with Dr. Warburton's account, that he gave an interpretation totally inconſiſtent with it, but without any reflection upon his friend,

* See Appendix to firſt vol. of Remarks, p. 377 and 378.

† Julian, 2d. edit. p. 316. note.

friend, as may be ſeen from the foregoing extracts. This, however, being conſidered by Dr. Warburton, or ſome of his diſciples, as an inimical attack upon his ſyſtem, Dr. Jortin was addreſſed in a ſmall pamphlet, entitled, " On the delicacy of friendſhip. A ſeventh diſſertation, addreſſed to the author of the ſixth."

This pamphlet was epitomized in certain " Remarks on Dr. Warburton's account of the ſentiments of the early jews, concerning the ſoul; publiſhed in 1757, which conſiders the " Delicacy of friendſhip" as laying down rules for all who diſſented from Dr. Warburton,—" thus at leaſt (ſays the writer) ſtands the decree, tranſlated out of *attic ironv* into *plain engliſh*, preſcribing our demeaner towards this ſovereign in the republic of letters, as we find it promulged and bearing date at the palace of Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 25, 1755.

1. " You muſt not write on the ſame ſubject that he does.

2. " You muſt not write againſt him.

3. " You muſt not glance at his arguments

ments even without naming him, or ſo much as referring to him.

4. " You muſt not oppoſe his principles, though you let his arguments quite alone.

5. " If you find his reaſonings ever ſo faulty, you muſt not preſume to furniſh him with better of your own, even though you approve and are deſirous to ſupport his concluſions.

6. " You muſt not pretend to help forward any of his arguments that happen to fall lame, and may ſeem to require your needful ſupport.

7. " When you deſign him a compliment, you muſt expreſs it in full form, and with all the circumſtance of panegyrical approbation, without impertinently qualifying your civilities by aſſigning a reaſon why you think he deſerves them; as this might poſſibly be taken for a hint that you know ſomething of the matter he is writing about as well as himſelf.

8. " You muſt never call any of his diſcoveries by the name of *conjectures*, though you allow them their full proportion of elegance,

gance, learning, &c. for you ought to know that this capital genius never propoſed any thing to the judgment of the public, (though ever ſo new and uncommon) with diffidence in his life."*

Dr. Jortin does not appear to have taken any notice of this tract, nor any further notice of Dr. Warburton than incidentally in his "Life of Eraſmus," where he corrects a miſinterpretation of a paſſage in Cicero, by the coloſſial critic, which was committing a ſecond offence inſtead of aſking pardon for the firſt.†

Dr. Warburton having occaſion to cite Cicero's opinion of Plato—*qui* PRINCEPS *de republica*

* See "Remarks on Dr. Warburton," p. 3 and 4.

† For the miſinterpretation of the paſſage in Cicero ſee *Div. Leg.* vol. i. p. 184, note f. the fifth edition; and for the correction of it ſee the "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 552 --554, note (d). When Dr. Salter ſhewed ſeveral paſſages in the Life of Eraſmus to archbiſhop Secker, which were ſuppoſed to *ſquint* at Dr. Warburton, his grace was diſpoſed, or affected, to doubt concerning moſt of them, but when they came to this note on the uſe of the words *primus* and *princeps*, the archbiſhop immediately ſaw that it was deſigned for Dr. Warburton. This from a friend.

republica conſcripſit, he very unfortunately rendered the words, Plato,—*who wrote* BEST *of a republic*. The biographer of Eraſmus happening in his turn, to meet with the word "princeps" in one of the epiſtles of his author, takes occaſion to do juſtice to the paſſage in Cicero, which had been thus miſrepreſented; when, without ever naming the ſtumbling critic, he cloſes his obſervations with a citation from Terence, which he conſidered as likely to ſuit him better than the ſolitary paſſage from Virgil,* which he had cited in his own vindication;

Eſt genus hominum, qui eſſe *primos* ſe omnium rerum volunt,
Nec ſunt. Eunuch ii. 11. 17.

Where *primus*, ſays he, certainly and undeniably means *ſummus*, *præcipuus*.

But this is not the only place where Dr. Jortin may be ſuppoſed to have had Dr. Warburton in his thoughts. He cannot be preſumed ſo ſoon to have forgotten that he had

* ——————veteriſque memor Saturnia belli,
Prima quod ad Trojam pro charis geſſerat Argis.
Æn. i. 27.

had been baited by the retainers of this chieftain, when he tells us that Aleander, after he was exalted to high ſtations, had *wranglers* under him, whom he could ſet at Eraſmus; though the laws of the church forbid eccleſiaſtics *alere canes venaticos*. It would be happy, as he had before obſerved, "if wrangling geniuſes would copy from the examples of Faber and Eraſmus, and conſider a little, how all men of ſenſe and manners applaud ſuch moderation, and how they abhor and deſpiſe thoſe, who having begun to quarrel, perhaps, upon mere baubles, never end their conteſts and animoſities, till death comes and puts them to ſilence."

But Warburton, like Wolſey, was not one of thoſe, who have ſo happy a memory, as to "forget nothing beſides diſcourteſies." We have indeed heard him talk of his own mildneſs and temper, but in this, like Luther, when he ſet himſelf about his work, "he forgot theſe promiſes; and his zeal and impetuoſity were two hard-mouthed [and oftentimes foul-mouthed,] horſes, which run away with the chariot and the charioteer." It has

has been this inſolent and overbearing temper in eccleſiaſtics, which gave occaſion to even one of the popes to obſerve, "that it was ſafer to quarrel with a prince, than with a friar."

Bembus, in his "Hiſtory of Venice, had written *apud inferos pœna*, which Jortin tranſlated *the pains of hell*.* He afterwards took the following notice of Dr. Warburton's *corrected* verſion of that expreſſion:—"I am obliged to Dr. Warburton, ſays he, (who ſince I wrote this note is biſhop of Gloceſter) for having reminded me that it ſhould rather be *the pains of purgatory*. I might plead, that our Engliſh word *hell* is lax enough to anſwer to *inferi*, or to all the ſuppoſed diſtricts of the *infernal regions*.—But I had rather own that his verſion is more accurate than mine, and take this opportunity to return him my thanks, and to repay civility with civility."†

In the "adverſaria" of our author, the following memorandum is found, which ſhews that he did not oppoſe the notions of other men from any ſpirit of envy or oppoſition, but

* See "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 114. l. 5.

† Ib. vol. ii. appendix, p. 712.

but from a full perſuaſion that the real matter of fact was as he had repreſented it. "I have examined," ſays he, "the ſtate of the dead as deſcribed by Homer and Virgil, and upon that Diſſertation I am willing to ſtake all the little credit I have as a critic and a philologer. I have there obſerved, that Homer was not the inventor of the fabulous hiſtories of the gods: he had thoſe ſtories, and alſo the doctrine of a future ſtate, from old traditions. Many notions of the pagans, which came from tradition, are conſidered by Barrow, Sermon iii. vol. ii. in which ſermon the exiſtence of God is proved from univerſal conſent. See alſo Bibl. Chois. i. 356, and Bibl. Univ. iv. 433."*

With reſpect to the eſſayiſt "on the Delicacy of friendſhip," it is probable he was not out of Dr. Jortin's remembrance when he was writing another note in his "Life of Eraſmus," which cloſes with a ſhort paſſage from Apollonius Tyanenſis.†

* See Dr. Heathcote's account of Dr. Jortin prefixed to his "Sermons," p. vi. and vii.

† See "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 603 and 604, note f.

It may indeed be conjectured that the ſame eſſayiſt was preſent to his imagination, when he ſaid "to be miſrepreſented, as a pedant and a dunce, this is no great matter; for time and truth put folly to flight: to be accuſed of hereſy by bigots, hypocrites, politicians, and infidels, this is a ſerious affair; as they know too well, who have had the misfortune to feel the effects of it. *"

Some few months after the death of Dr. Jortin, a writer in the St. James's Chronicle, who ſigned himſelf, ÆACUS, ſtated ſome things in the literary hiſtory of Dr. Jortin, and among others, that "a want of delicacy was objected to Jortin. All the world laughed at the conceit, and Jortin himſelf was ſurpriſed into a grin. How comes it, John, ſaid a friend of his, that you ſhould have the reputation of leſs delicacy than the broker? ---I'll tell you, ſays the doctor, Rambling one day into the environs of the zodiac, inſtead of making my bow and my ſpeech, I happened to turn my poſteriors upon URSA MAJOR"†.

It

* "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 599 and 600.

† See "A collection of letters and eſſays in favor of public liberty." 12mo. 1774. vol. iii. p. 263 and 264.

It is now well known that Dr. Hurd, the preſent biſhop of Worceſter, was the writer of the diſſertation on the delicacy of friendſhip; but as Dr. Warburton ſpeaks of it with ſuch unbounded praiſe, in a letter to Dr. Lowth *, he has ſo far made it his own, that his name deſerves to ſhare in the reprobation with which the learned world received this diſguſting morſel, and which even its author has, though without ſucceſs, endeavoured to ſuppreſs.

In the courſe of a few years this ſame diſſertation on the delicacy of friendſhip, by ſome means or other, became ſcarce. It was only occaſionally to be ſeen in "the corner of a catalogue," or "caught ſkulking upon

* "I not only hold myſelf highly honoured, and obliged to him for this mark of his good will towards me, but think the diſcourſe very ſerviceable to men of letters, if they would condeſcend to make a proper uſe of it. He tries in the fineſt irony in the world, to ſhame them out of that deteſtable turn of mind, which either out of low envy, or out of mean and baſe apprehenſions dare not do it, for fear of its being unacceptable to their ſuperiors." Warburton's Letter to Lowth, dated Sept. 17, 1756. See "Tracts by Warburton and Warburtonian." p. 198.

the ſhelf of a collector *." We owe, however, to a ſubſequent editor the reproduction of this, with other curioſities of the Warburtonian ſchool, illuſtrated and illuminated with a dedication, two prefaces, and ſundry notes, which will preſerve from oblivion theſe rare productions of biſhops Warburton and Hurd. The title of this combined publication is, "Tracts by Warburton, and a Warburtonian; not admitted into the collections of their works:" printed 1789.

* See "Dedication of the two tracts of a Warburtonian." p. 145.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

Publiſhes his "Life of Eraſmus." 1758—1760.

Dr. Jortin publiſhed the firſt volume of his "Life of Eraſmus," in quarto, in the year 1758; and by the publication of the ſecond volume in 1760, he completed a work which, from the ſubject of it, "extended his reputation beyond the limits of his native country, and eſtabliſhed his literary character in the remoteſt univerſities of Europe *"

* See Knox's Remarks on the Life and writings of Dr. Jortin, in his "Eſſays moral and literary," vol. i. Eſſay xviii. the *ſecond* edition, 1779.---where he adds, "Eraſmus had long been an object of univerſal admiration, and it is matter of ſurpriſe, that his life had never been written with accuracy and judgment. This taſk was reſerved for Dr. Jortin, and the avidity with which the work was received by the learned, is a proof of the merit of the execution. It abounds with matter intereſting to the ſcholar; but the ſtyle and method are ſuch as will not pleaſe every reader. There is a careleſſneſs in it, and a want of dignity and delicacy." The whole of what is cited both in the text and note from the eſſays above referred to, is omitted in the later editions of them.

" The Life of no author is better calculated to intereſt our curioſity than that of Eraſmus. He lived at the firſt dawning of literature, and was himſelf one of the principal lights which diſpelled that gloom of ignorance and barbariſm, which had overſpread the world for ſo many ages. There is alſo ſome variety in the events of his life, which was more diverſified than the lives of literary men commonly are; and there is the ſame variety in his character, that is found in his fortune: he was a genius as well as a profound ſcholar; and a man of wit and humour, as well as an able divine."*

" The celebrated Le Clerc, whilſt he was concerned in publiſhing an edition of the works of Eraſmus at Leyden, in ten volumes folio, drew up his life in French, collected principally from his letters, and inſerted it in the *Bibliotheque Choiſie*; and had the pleaſure to find that it was favorably received by the public." And Dr. Jortin tells us further, in his preface, that " it is ſo performed,

* See " Annual Regiſter" for 1758, p. 463.

performed, in the main, that he could not hope to do it in a better manner, and was not inclined to do it in another manner. It is therefore taken, as a ground work to build upon, and is tranſlated, not ſuperſtitiouſly and cloſely, but with much freedom, and with more attention to things than to words. He found Le Clerc's way of thinking and judging, for the moſt part, correſpondent with his own; and ſeldom had occaſion to declare a diſſent from him. But at the ſame time, continual additions are made, not only with relation to the hiſtory of thoſe days, but to the life of Eraſmus, eſpecially where Le Clerc grew more remiſs, either wearied with the taſk, or called off from theſe to other labours. At firſt it was intended to diſtinguiſh his property from the reſt; but it ſoon appeared that the thing was hardly practicable, and quite needleſs."*

 "This

* See Preface to the "Life of Eraſmus," p. iii. where our author makes an apology to his Engliſh readers, for the large quantity of *latin* diſtributed up and down in the notes. They are told, that, "the ſubſtance of theſe paſſages is ſometimes

" The work before us being thus the joint produce of two very learned and very ingenious men, it is no wonder that it exhibits ſo ample a ſtock of materials, or that it is

ſometimes to be found in the text; that ſometimes it is not poſſible to tranſlate them, without depriving them of their ſpirit and beauty; that if they were tranſlated, they would be of ſmall ſervice to perſons not verſed in claſſical literature; and, in ſhort, that I ſometimes uſe this variety and mixture, to pleaſe my own taſte, be it good or bad. As I have endeavoured, ſays he, in the greater part of this book, to give engliſh readers inſtruction and entertainment, they muſt alſo give me leave to have more extenſive views, and to write for the learned, and for ſtudents, who, if they carefully peruſe theſe citations, will have ſome obligation to me, and find their time and pains well employed." Preface, p. iv. and v.—" The notes, indeed, contain abundance of curious matter," ſays the writer of the Monthly Review, " and the many corrections and emendations which Dr. Jortin has made in the paſſages he has quoted, are inſtances of the ſtricteſt attention, and proofs of his critical knowledge of the latin tongue. And as the author hath, in his notes, given ample teſtimony of his learning, he has likewiſe made his good ſenſe and judgment conſpicuous in the text, by the ſenſible and judicious reflections interſperſed throughout the body of the work; which he hath, moreover, embelliſhed with ſome memorable hiſtorical paſſages, and entertaining anecdotes." Vol. xix. p. 387 and 392.

is executed with uncommon diligence, ſkill, and accuracy" It has, however, been juſtly obſerved, that by diſpoſing his facts and obſervations in the form of annals, Dr. Jortin "has rendered the narration broken and tedious;" and his digreſſions have alſo occaſioned a want of perſpicuity in ſome parts of his performance. Theſe digreſſions, indeed, are ſo frequent, and of ſuch a nature, that his compilation may not improperly be termed an epitome of the lives of all the eminent men, in whatever branch of literature, who adorned part of the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries; and upon the whole, "as the work now ſtands, it may rather be conſidered as an excellent collection of materials for the life of Eraſmus, than the hiſtory of it."*

The work is divided into three books. The firſt volume contains only book I. which is entitled "The life of Eraſmus." The ſecond volume contains book II, "Remarks upon the works of Eraſmus;" and book

* See "Annual Regiſter" for 1758, p. 463. and "Monthly Review" vol. xix.

book III, "Appendix, containing extracts from Eraſmus and from other writers."

Before the "Remarks upon the works of Eraſmus," there is prefixed ſome account of the judgments which learned men have paſſed upon him; and Dr. Jortin has alſo given a very copious account of the Leyden edition of Eraſmus's works, publiſhed by Le Clerc, together with the prefaces and remarks of that celebrated writer. The pieces inſerted in the appendix are, for the moſt part, compoſed by Eraſmus: they are alſo generally upon intereſting and entertaining ſubjects, and tend to illuſtrate ſome circumſtance in his life. There are likewiſe added letters to and from Eraſmus, together with ſeveral letters which paſſed between other people, in which mention is made of Eraſmus or his writings. The reader is alſo preſented with the will of this extraordinary perſon; and at the end of each volume there are plates, containing ſpecimens of the handwriting of Eraſmus, Luther Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Bucer, Calvin, and other celebrated men.

But

But the incidents in the life of Eraſmus, though in ſome reſpects diſadvantageouſly conducted, are not detailed without obſervation. The author hath interſperſed many valuable remarks, which are made with ſuch pointed force to certain circumſtances which remained the ſame in his own time, as in the days of Eraſmus, that he hath deeply intereſted his contemporaries of his own country; and, indeed, until the ſcene of things which concern our Zion ſhall be changed, they will continue to intereſt every ſucceeding generation of proteſtants.

"Many were the bitter pills which Jortin adminiſtered to the great churchmen, in his Life of Eraſmus," ſays an able, but anonymous, writer, "which however handſomely gilded, ſtuck in their throats and raiſed their ſtomachs; and had their hands been at liberty, *facti eſſent pugiles, et medicum urſiſſent.* A number of boobies and bigots are there whipped upon the backs of the oppoſers of Eraſmus and Luther; and there were not wanting men of more aſſurance and leſs ſcrupuloſity to make the application."*

Eraſmus

* See "A collection of Letters and Eſſays in favor of public liberty," vol. iii. p. 261.

Eraſmus was, without doubt, an eminent light in his time, and the reſtorer of learning; he was alſo the forerunner of Luther, by leading men to the free uſe of their bibles, to a general rational interpretation of the ſcriptures, and to a more tolerant ſpirit, rather than by any bold or deciſive perſonal efforts. The monks uſed to ſay, "Eraſmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it." And, indeed, on this point, obſerves Dr. Jortin, they judged not amiſs, nor with their accuſtomed *ſiniſterity*, if we may be permitted to uſe that word. But this, Eraſmus conſidered, in one of his letters, only as a joke of the minorite brethren, for which they deſerve to be complimented as wits; for, concludes he, I laid an hen egg, but Luther hatched a very different bird.

It is certain that no part of the intrepid and daring ſpirit of Luther, who had as much courage as Alexander and Julius Cæſar put together, was natural to Eraſmus, or could be acquired by him. He was, however, as ingenuous as father Paul in avowing his timidity, by declaring that he had not the

the fortitude neceſſary for martyrdom.* His temper was mild, and his diſpoſition led him to cultivate learning in peace; he laboured to ſerve the cauſe of truth, more by patient inveſtigation, and the effuſions of wit, than by any open declaration of his ſentiments, or any active and vigorous ſupport of them. His apprehenſion from temporary diſturbances, ſuperſeded, even in his enlightened mind, his affection for the intereſts of truth.

" For

* " Let others," ſays Eraſmus, " affect martyrdom; for my part, I hold myſelf unworthy of that honor." (vol. i. p. 235, and vol. ii. p. 56.) In another letter, to Pace, dean of St. Paul's, he ſays, " Wherein could I have aſſiſted Luther, if I had declared myſelf for him, and ſhared the danger along with him? Only thus far, that inſtead of one man, two would have periſhed. I cannot conceive what he means by writing with ſuch ſpirit: one thing I know too well, that he hath brought a great odium upon the lovers of literature. It is true, that he hath given us many a wholeſome doctrine, and many a good counſel; and I wiſh he had not defeated the effect of them by his intolerable ſpirit. But if he had written in the moſt unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the ſake of the truth. Every man hath not the courage requiſite to make a martyr; and I am afraid, that if I were put to the trial, I ſhould imitate St. Peter." Vol. i. p. 273, and vol. ii. p. 56.

"For my part," ſays he on one occaſion, "I think that any thing is to be endured, rather than to raiſe pernicious diſturbances; and that it may be a part of true piety to conceal the truth, ſo as neither to utter it in every place, nor in every time, nor before every perſon, nor freely and without reſerve, and at all adventures."

"We will not deny the truth of theſe maxims in general," ſays Dr. Jortin, "but the difficulty conſiſts in applying them to particular caſes. Eraſmus himſelf, with all his caution and prudence, was openly accuſed by the monks of having violated all theſe general maxims." And beſides," ſays our author, "diviſions and ſchiſms are doubtleſs a grievous calamity in chriſtendom; and yet it is better, upon the whole, that the church ſhould be thus diſunited, and ſplit into five, or into five hundred ſects, than that it ſhould be uniformly ſubject to ſo cruel a tyranny, and united only in the bond of ignorance, or of hypocriſy. Under ſuch a head, or ſuch a government, every rational inquiry would be checked and ſuppreſſed; but

but now truth and liberty prevail, ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another, and are not entirely driven out of the chriſtian world."

Again; " Truth," ſays Eraſmus, " is efficacious and invincible, but it muſt be diſpenſed with evangelical prudence. For myſelf, I ſo abhor diviſions, and ſo love concord, that, I fear, if an occaſion preſented itſelf, I ſhould ſooner give up a part of truth, than diſturb the public peace."

Upon this, his biographer very juſtly obſerves,—" but the miſchief is, that a man cannot thus give up truth, without running into falſhood, and aſſenting to things which he doth not believe. For a man cannot judge that to be right, which his own reaſon pronounces to be falſe, only becauſe overbearing perſons attack the truth with more vehemence than he chuſeth to employ in defence of it, and are the majority and the ſtronger party. Beſides, when ſuch enemies to reaſon and to religion perceive that a man will not have the courage to defend his opinions at all extremities, which Eraſmus confeſſed

confeſſed to be his own diſpoſition, they never fail to take advantage of him, to oppreſs him, and to run him down, well knowing that nothing is neceſſary to accompliſh their purpoſe beſides ſtubborneſs, clamour, impudence, and violence. And ſo ſpiritual tyranny being once erected, would endure for ever, and gain ſtrength and ſtability. Concord and peace are unqueſtionably valuable bleſſings; but yet not to be purchaſed at the expence of truth and liberty, which are infinitely more eſtimable than a ſordid tranquility beneath the yoke of falſhood and arbitrary dominion. Beneath this yoke the chriſtian republic becomes a mere faction of paltroons, ſolicitous about enjoying the preſent, and neglecting every thing that is laudable, under the pretext of preſerving the peace. Such would have been the preſent ſtate of chriſtianity, if the pacific ſcheme of Eraſmus had been received and purſued. Diviſions, it muſt be owned, do much harm; yet they have at leaſt produced much good, that the truth of the goſpel, and a chriſtian liberty, which acquieſceth

quieſceth only in the deciſions of Jeſus Chriſt, are not entirely baniſhed from the face of the earth, as they would have been without thoſe ſtruggles of our anceſtors."

But let us hear ſome more of the advice of Eraſmus to a certain preacher at Conſtance who conſulted with him, how the reformation might beſt be advanced. "This preacher," ſays he, "who certainly is a worthy man, will do more ſervice to the goſpel, the honor of which we all have at heart, if he takes care to join the prudence of the evangelical ſerpent to the ſimplicity of the evangelical dove. Let him eſſay it; and then let him condemn my counſel, if he finds it not to be ſalutary."—"Alas! ſays Dr. Jortin, experience hath taught the chriſtian world, that this ſame ſerpentine prudence ſerved to make falſhood triumphant. It was even eaſy to foreſee it, ſince this wiſdom conſiſting only in ſubmitting to that faction, which was the moſt powerful and the moſt obſtinate." And indeed "ſome of the evils, which Eraſmus prognoſticated, came to paſs accordingly in ſome places: but, in

general, things did not go ſo ill as he apprehended. And the chriſtian ſocieties, which aroſe from theſe tumults, have been greatly preferable to the chriſtian world, and to the ſtate of it, for many ages before the reformation."

The intrinſic value of this work of our author's will be differently eſtimated, according to the complexion of the reader, or it may, probably, be determined, by perſons of a certain deſcription, *without* reading it, as was the fate of ſome of the works of Eraſmus. Indifference will, in ſome caſes, ſecretly effect the work of zeal, more ſlowly indeed, but not leſs ſurely. The "odium theologicum," has oftentimes been directed againſt ſuppoſed offenders upon very ſlight ſuſpicions, and has prevailed againſt the pleas of truth, of juſtice, and of humanity;---that it has done ſo heretofore, all hiſtory will bear teſtimony;---that it continues to do ſo ſtill, more privately indeed, in ſome caſes, but not with leſs envenomed ſhafts, a moderate acquaintance with the world will ſufficiently ſhew. In ſome recent

inſtances

inſtances it has proceeded to the moſt alarming outrages. How readily this temper was turned againſt Eraſmus, he hath told us in very plain words, "There are none," ſays he, "who bark at me more furiouſly, than they who never ſaw even the outſide of my book. Try the experiment upon any of them, and you ſhall find that I tell you what is true. When you meet with one of theſe bawlers, let him rave on at my new Teſtament, till he hath made himſelf hoarſe, and out of breath. Then aſk him gently, whether he hath read it.* If he hath the impu-

 dence

* There is one fact of this kind recorded. "A Dominican, who had ſignalized himſelf by railing at Eraſmus's verſion of the new Teſtament, both in his ſermons, and in converſation, at Straſburg, in the preſence of Jacobus Sturmius, was compelled to own that he had not read one line of the book. Theſe men, ſays Eraſmus, firſt hate, and then condemn, and then ſeek for paſſages to juſtify their cenſures."—Biſhop Horſley, more ingenuous, but with equally unabaſhed aſſurance, notwithſtanding his ſhare in the controverſy with Dr. Prieſtley, avows his never having read his "Hiſtory of early opinions concerning Jeſus Chriſt;" and declares himſelf "as ignorant of the contents of that work, as he could have been, had it never been publiſhed." See p. xii. of his preface to his "Tracts in controverſy with Dr. Prieſtley."

dence to ſay, yes; urge him to produce one paſſage that deſerves to be blamed. You will find that he cannot. Conſider now whether this be the behaviour of a chriſtian, or ſuitable to the profeſſion of a monk, to blacken before the populace a man's reputation, which they cannot reſtore to him again, though they ſhould attempt it, and to rail at things, of which they are entirely ignorant; never conſidering the declaration of St. Paul, that ſlanderers ſhall not inherit the kingdom of heaven. Of all the vile ways of defaming a man, none is more villainous than to accuſe him of hereſy; and yet to this they have recourſe upon the ſlighteſt provocation. As amongſt the Swiſs, if one of the multitude lifts up his finger, and gives the ſignal, all the reſt, as they ſay, do the ſame, and run to pillage; ſo when one of this monkiſh herd hath begun to grunt, all the reſt grunt alſo, and ſtir up the populace to ſtone their enemies, forgetting the character which they aſſume, and making it their only occupation to throw dirt at honeſt men."

" So it was in the days of Eraſmus, and ſo it hath been ſince; the ſame tragi-comedy hath been repreſented by different actors and upon different ſtages." This is a general remark of Dr. Jortin's, which may be brought home by ſome, and denied by others; but in which he might have been more ſpecific, if occaſion had required, or he had been diſpoſed to enter into detail. The admirable preface which he placed before the firſt volume of his " Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory," and which had been publiſhed only ſeven years before his " Life of Eraſmus," raiſed a very general and loud clamour among the bigots of that time. There were ſome among his brethren of the city clergy, who were ſtrongly diſpoſed to harraſs the eccleſiaſtical remarker with the vexation and expence of a legal proſecution; and which they would have attempted, had not ſuch deſign been diſcountenanced by more moderate perſons.

But the pleas for reformation were formerly oppoſed not only by the angry pens of thoſe who were retained by prejudice, or by hire, on the part of eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, but by a perſecuting and intolerant ſpirit which le-

velled the ties of humanity, and deluged with blood, and indelibly diſgraced, the hiſtory of the propagation of the chriſtian faith.

No man lamented theſe ſcenes more than Eraſmus did; and yet on ſome occaſions, and particularly on one, when through fear of offending certain perſecuting princes, he was diſpoſed to admit the puniſhment of hereſy with death. In a letter to the elector of Saxony, (1525) he deſired him " to puniſh Luther, or at leaſt to reprimand and to muzzle him." Sooner would I muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, than him who ſhall labor to free the human mind from the bondage of ſuperſtition and ſlavery.

On another occaſion, when " Eraſmus was charged with maintaining that it was unlawful to put heretics to death; he was afraid leſt Francis, and Charles, and Ferdinand, and George of Saxony, and Henry VIII. and other perſecuting princes, ſhould ſuſpect that he condemned their cruel conduct; and therefore he then meanly began to maintain, that there were certain heretics, who might be put to death, as blaſphemers and rioters.

rioters. The good man did not conſider, ſays Dr. Jortin, that if he had been ſeized himſelf as an heretic, and the monks had ſat in judgment upon him, he would infallibly have been pronounced one of thoſe heretics, who deſerved death."

The ſixteenth century, we are reminded, produced " turbulent and tempeſtuous times; violent ſtruggles between the reformed and the romaniſts; conteſts, not for things of ſmall importance, but for nothing leſs than power and dominion on the one ſide; life and liberty on the other. Religious diſputes opened the ſcene, and produced religious wars and cruel perſecutions:

——————— bella, horrida bella,
Et Tibrim multo ſpumantem ſanguine cerno."

And yet, while ſome may obſerve here, how great a fire a little ſpark kindleth, we may remark, in return, that much of that temporary miſchief which is almoſt inſeparable from the reformation of civil and religious inſtitutions, may be prevented by gradual conceſſions from thoſe very perſons, who have the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions from the

diſturbing of the public lethargy,—for darkneſs and error, foſtered by indolence and timidity, deſerve not the name of public peace. But an obſtinate retention of the whole and every part of a long eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of human doctrines and devices, is likely, in the end, to be moſt friendly to an effectual and permanent reformation upon the true and conſiſtent principles of chriſtianity and proteſtantiſm, how little ſoever the patrons of modern orthodoxy may be diſpoſed to admit the conſequences of their own conduct. Juſt conceſſions and accommodations from thoſe who would affect the diſtinction of moderate men, to the manly and irreſiſtible pleas of ſcripture and reaſon, made under the favorable circumſtance of a proper ſeaſon, and done with a good grace, have a natural tendency to relax the ſpirit, and abate the perſeverance of the moſt earneſt remonſtrants even in the beſt of cauſes in which men can be engaged; but an invincible obſtinacy in retaining them unites and concentrates that ſpirit. Time alſo advances and perfects knowledge, and diſcovers

diſcovers and expoſes the impediments to its more general reception, until the triumph of truth is eſtabliſhed upon a total diſperſion of error, not only by deſtroying the ſuperſtructure, but by utterly eraſing the bad principles upon which it has been nurtured.

Theſe reflections are countenanced by an obſervation of our author's. "Very true it is," ſays Dr. Jortin, "that the ſtruggles of the reformers cauſed many diſorders, and drew a terrible perſecution upon them and their ſucceſſors; but it was through the fault of that church, to which Eraſmus wanted to remain united, and which would hear of no amendments." And it was remarked, even about the time of the reformation, that "if the eccleſiaſtics would have granted the cup to the laity, and marriage to the clergy, lutheraniſm would have come to nothing." And, in our own time, had proper attention been paid to the Candid diſquiſitors,—the petitioning clergy,—the aſſociators with Mr. Wollaſton,—the applications of proteſtant diſſenters for an extended toleration,—the motions of earl Stanhope and Mr. Fox, for the

the repeal of certain penal laws, and to the propoſal of biſhop Watſon for the liquidation of the revenues of the church; the outworks of the eſtabliſhment would have acquired ſtrength and ſtability, though confeſſedly built with untempered mortar. It is now moſt probable that, in the courſe of human events, the accumulated and accumulating maſs of doctrines not believed, of power abuſed, of inſtitutions diſapproved, of diſcipline neglected, will not be left to moulder away inſenſibly, but will, in ſome favorable moment of civil reform, be altogether diſowned and deſtroyed. Dr. Jortin's arguments go directly to the vindication of this conduct in the cloſe of an obſervation on the obſtinacy of the ſcholaſtic divines in the days of Eraſmus. "Therefore the tumults," ſays he, "which honeſt Eraſmus ſo dreaded and abhorred, were a neceſſary evil in many places, where theſe ignorant rulers would liſten to no remonſtrances, nor yield up the ſmalleſt ſcrap of their pretended rights. As well might men have charmed the Dionyſiuſes, and other tyrants of antiquity with philanthropic diſcourſes, and have perſuaded them

them to quit their poſt, and to make due reparation for all the miſchief which they had done."

If it were our immediate buſineſs to inquire into the cauſes of this procraſtination of the reform of eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions, it were no difficult matter to explore and detect them. The prejudices and education, the natural temper and paſſions of men, have oftentimes greater weight in determining their conduct than they are at all times diſpoſed to admit, or are even themſelves conſcious of. The remaining and more reprehenſible cauſe of this backwardneſs to reformation, is that unreaſonable attention to the temporal intereſts of ſome of the parties concerned, which is not ſeldom very obſervable by the by-ſtander. The argument of the ſilverſmiths of Epheſus, who were employed to make ſhrines for the goddeſs Diana, has prevailed as well ſince as before their time,—by this craft we have our wealth: and the field for its operation is enlarged from the alliance of the church with the ſtate, which forms a league unnatural

tural in itſelf, and unfriendly to all reaſonable liberty, involves one deſcription of men in a dependency upon another, and ſubjects them to unworthy and diſgraceful accommodations to the little political parties and intrigues of the day. Hence it has happened, that a defection from integrity and good principles has attended not only the actual elevation to the titled diſtinctions and large emoluments in the eſtabliſhed church, but even the diſtant proſpect of them.* Jortin entertained his ſuſpicions of Eraſmus, had he been placed in the advanced ſituation in which he might have done a great deal in the way of affecting what he is ſuppoſed to have wiſhed for. "If, inſtead of Leo X," ſays he, "Eraſmus I. had filled the papal chair, he might perhaps have converted theſe people, [the Pyghards,] and prevented all the

* "A cardinal, according to the definition of Guy Patin, is *animal rubrum, callidum, et rapax; capax et vorax omnium beneficiorum.* A good commentary might be made," ſays Jortin, "upon this text of Guy Patin, which (excepting the *rubrum*) is applicable to other people beſides cardinals. But in this caſe the fault, I think, is as much in the *feeder* as in the *eater*." "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 564.

the ſad diſorders which enſued; but then we muſt alſo ſuppoſe, that, being raiſed to ſo exalted a ſtation, he had carried along with him, and preſerved untainted, all his good ſenſe, and all his probity and moderation:

> Rarus enim ferme ſenſus communis in illa
> Fortuna."

I remember to have been told, upon very credible authority, of a certain ******, now deceaſed, that upon his coming into a bookſeller's ſhop ſoon after his advancement to the mitre, was deſired by his publiſher to permit another edition of a certain popular theological and controverſial tract, which he had very recently given to the world, as he would then fight my lord of ********* upon equal terms. The new biſhop very ingenuouſly returned for anſwer, "No more controverſy now, Mr. ******." A literary gentleman, who was then in the ſhop, obſerved in a very audible voice,—"There ſpake the ſpirit of ſix and twenty biſhops." Other and more ſubſtantial evidences are not wanting to mark the fluctuation in the ſentiments of this prelate, who was once as much

much diſtingiſhed by his liberality of ſentiment, as by his learning.

In ſome characters there is ſo large a portion of worldly prudence as to deſtroy not only the reputation, but the good effect of great abilities and many amiable diſpoſitions. To hear Eraſmus ſay that "there is a certain pious craft, and an innocent time-ſerving, which, however, we muſt ſo uſe as not to betray the cauſe of religion." And again, "I follow," ſays he, "the deciſions of the pope and the emperor when they are right, which is acting religiouſly; I ſubmit to them when they are wrong, which is acting prudently: and I think that it is lawful for good men to behave themſelves thus, when there is no hope of obtaining any more." So alſo, when he confeſſes that it is "a great impiety to halt between Chriſt and Belial, he nevertheleſs thinks it is prudent to ſteer between Scylla and Charybdis." Theſe temporizing principles, which will go to the juſtification of the baſeſt conduct, have given great occaſion of reproach and ſcandal to his memory.

Eraſmus's

Eraſmus's timidity and duplicity towards Luther, rouſed that intrepid ſpirit to expreſs himſelf in very ſtrong, though as he ſays, very reſtrained language. " You might, indeed," ſays he, " have favoured us not a little by your wit, and by your eloquence; but foraſmuch as you have not that courage which is requiſite, it is ſafer for you to ſerve the Lord in your own way." Nay Eraſmus was conſtrained to make this humiliating and diſgraceful confeſſion of himſelf; " I can neither hold my peace, nor ſpeak the things which become the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt."

Dr. Jortin ſent a copy of his Life of Eraſmus to biſhop Sherlock, " to pay," as he ſays, " in ſome meaſure the debt of an author to an author," for he had received the four volumes of the biſhop's diſcourſes. The biſhop made a handſome apology for not ſooner acknowledging the " great favor done him;" but it has been conjectured that he cautiouſly avoided committing himſelf upon the ſubject, or execution, of the work. Jortin ſpeaks of him, in his anſwer, as being " one of thoſe very few amongſt his ſuperiors,

riors, to whom he had obligations." But the biſhop's letter bears date, Oct. 13, 1760, and he died July 18, 1761, in the 84th year of his age: and in his infirm ſtate of health it was not to be expected that he ſhould make any more particular acknowledgment, than what the common rules of civility required.*

The candor of Dr. Warton was arraigned by an able writer in a periodical publication,† for having omitted all mention of Jortin's life of Eraſmus, and contenting himſelf with ſaying in his "Eſſay on the genius and writings of Pope," that "the Life of Eraſmus which deſerved the fineſt pen, had been wretchedly and frigidly written by Knight, although ſome materials he had collected, were curious and uſeful."‡

Dr. Warton's eſſay was ſtated to have been publiſhed four years after Jortin's Life of

* See the biſhop's letter and Dr. Jortin's anſwer in "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 262. and "Tracts philological," &c. vol. ii. p. 30 and 31.

† See Gent. Mag. for October 1789, vol. lix. p. 889 and 890.

‡ See Warton's "Eſſay," vol. i. ſecond edit. 1762, p. 182—184.

of Eraſmus, but it afterwards appeared that the firſt volume was originally printed and publiſhed in 1756, two years before Jortin's work ſaw the light. A ſecond edition of the Eſſay in 1762, *corrected*, preſerves, however, the ſame profound ſilence in reſpect to Jortin. In a vindication of the eſſayiſt, (which was probably written by himſelf,) it was obſerved, that "Dr. Warton was known always to have admired Dr. Jortin, for the extenſiveneſs of his erudition, the elegance of his taſte, and the liberality of his ſentiments; of which he had given ſufficient proof ſo early as the year 1753; for, having occaſion to mention a happy emendation of Dr. Jortin's, on a paſſage of Euripides, in his notes on the fourth Georgic of Virgil, p. 345, he introduces it by calling Dr. Jortin, "an author, whoſe meaneſt praiſe is his critical taſte and judgment."*

* See Gent. Mag. for Nov. 1789, vol. lix. p. 997.

CHAPTER VII.

Collated to a prebend in St. Paul's, the vicarage of Kenſington, and archdeaconry of London; publiſhes "Some remarks upon Phillips's life of cardinal Pole;" and a ſecond edition of the firſt three volumes of his "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory," in two volumes; his death and character, 1762—1770.

Dr. JORTIN eſſentially injured his health, by his application to his Life of Eraſmus, as I was aſſured by a very reſpectable friend who knew him well. In his preface to that work he addreſſed himſelf to his friends, "recommending himſelf to their favor, whilſt he was with them, and his name, when he was gone hence; and intreating them in a wiſh, that he might paſs the evening of a ſtudious and unambitious life in an humble but not a ſlothful obſcurity; and never forfeit the kind continuance of their accuſtomed approbation."

"But,"

" But," as is elſewhere obſerved, " whatever he or his friends might wiſh, he was to live hereafter neither ſo ſtudiouſly, nor ſo obſcurely, as his imagination had figured out to him : more public ſcenes, than any he had yet been engaged in, ſtill awaited him."*

Dr. Hayter, biſhop of London, with whom, by the way, Dr. Jortin had always been upon intimate terms, and for whom he had a great eſteem, died January 9, 1762; and Dr. Oſbaldiſton, who was alſo his friend, and then biſhop of Carliſle, was promoted to the ſee of London. So early as the 10th of March that year, Dr. Jortin was appointed chaplain to biſhop Oſbaldiſton, and about the latter end of the ſame month was collated by his lordſhip to the prebend of Harleſton, in the cathedral church of St. Paul's. In the following October, the biſhop gave him the vicarage of Kenſington, worth about 300l. a year; ſoon after which he quitted his houſe in Hatton Garden, and went to reſide there.

* See Dr. Heathcote's Account of him, prefixed to his "Sermons," p. viii. and ix.

In 1763, Dr. Jortin assisted Mr. Markland in correcting the proof sheets of the "Supplices mulieres" of Euripides, in quarto. He had before done the same for a little treatise by the same learned gentleman, entitled, "De *Græcorum* quintâ declinatione imparisyllabicâ, et inde formatâ *Latinorum* tertia, Quæstio grammatica," which had been first printed in 1761, and was now annexed to the "Supplices mulieres."—Of our author, it is said in an advertisement prefixed; "Absente auctore, vicem ejus ad prelum suscepit vir doctissimus Joannes Jortinus S. T. P. cujus eruditæ curæ multum debere hanc editionem profitetur commentator.*

Bishop

* See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 262, and 20.—And in the Oxford edition of Euripides, the learned editor Dr. Musgrave, thus writes vol. i. p. 382. (but which I transcribe from the Gent. mag. for 1788, p. 121.) "Jortini, quæ hic aliquoties commemorantur, notæ, cum multis aliis ex margine codicis, quo utebatur vir doctissimus, descriptæ sunt, et in meos Oxonio transmissæ. Earum maximam partem vel in erratis typographicis corrigendis versari deprehendimus, vel ex aliorum criticorum libris memoriæ causâ excerptam esse: omninoque perpaucas esse, quæ Jortinum auctorem agnoscerent: quarum eas tantum protulimus, in quibus elegans illud et acutum ingenium maximè elucere videbatur."

Biſhop Oſbaldiſton gave a repeated proof, about a month before his death, of his determined patronage of our author by appointing him archdeacon of London in April 1764; and it has been generally ſaid that the biſhop had offered him the rectory of St. James's, Weſtminſter, upon the death of Dr. Samuel Nicolls in November 1763; but that he choſe to continue at Kenſington, that being a ſituation he much liked, and better adapted to his then advanced age.

Mr. Phillips publiſhed the "Hiſtory of the life of Reginald Pole" in 1764; which is, ſays Dr Neve, "a laboured, plauſible inſult both upon the civil and eccleſiaſtical liberties of this country;"* and which, Dr. Jortin ſays, was "undertaken to recommend to us the very ſcum and dregs of popery, and to vilify and calumniate the reformation and the reformers, in a bigoted, diſingenuous, and ſuperficial performance."† This deſign of writing, "with a view to excite in us a favorable opinion of himſelf and his party,

 required

* Dr. Neve's Preface to his "Animadverſions."

† Dr. Jortin's Charge, vol. vii. of his Sermons, p. 375.

required ſingular qualifications."* Such it ſeems as Mr. Phillips did not abound in. Dr. Neve and Dr. Gloceſter Ridley ſeverally undertook to vindicate the doctrine and character of the reformers from the falſe repreſentations and injurious reflections of Mr. Phillips; the former in ſome "Animadverſions" upon, and the latter in a "Review" of the hiſtory in queſtion, both publiſhed in 1766.

Dr. Jortin communicated "Some remarks upon Mr. Phillips's hiſtory," to Dr. Neve, which were printed at the end of his work.†

In theſe, our author obſerves generally on Mr. Phillips's invectives againſt Eraſmus, (with whoſe works he ſeemed to be entirely unacquainted, and whom he repreſented as a wretch void of all religion,) that they are the ſcum and dregs of the accuſations which blockheads, bigots, fanatics, and hypocrites, have ſo plentifully thrown out. But that there were writers of the Romiſh communion, who had

* Dr. Jortin in App. to Neve. and p. 43. of "Tracts."

† In Appendix, number i. and republiſhed in "Tracts philological," &c. vol. ii. p. 37---44.

had treated Eraſmus with decency and candor, as Thuanus, Du Pin, Richard, Marſollier, &c.

" If the Romaniſts had fully and freely granted the cup to the laity, and marriage to the clergy, it might have been an ugly blow to lutheraniſm." This had been obſerved before by Dr. Jortin in another place,* but he here brings the remark a little nearer home, and which is peculiarly applicable to the ſpirit and ſome late manœuvres of certain " friends and fellow churchmen" of our own time.† " BUT," ſays he, " BY REFUSING TO GIVE UP ANY THING, HOW ABSURD SOEVER; AND BY ATTEMPTING TO PREVAIL WITH THE HELP OF THEIR OLD SUPPORTERS, FIRE AND FAGGOT, THEY EFFECTUALLY ESTABLISHED THE REFORMATION."

* See before, p. 249.

† Such was the appellation given by the earl of Aylesford and ſome of the gentry and clergy in Warwickſhire in an addreſs to the incendiaries of Birmingham, in the very act of committing the ever memorable outrages there, in July 1791.

Dr. Jortin republiſhed the three volumes of his Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, in 1767, in two volumes octavo,—not reducing the matter, but the ſize of the type. The poſthumous continuation of this work in two other volumes, now takes the numerical diſtinction of the third and fourth, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Dr. Jortin continued to live in the then vicarage houſe at Kenſington, dividing his time between his paſtoral functions and his ſtudy, enjoying himſelf with his uſual ſerenity, till the 27th of Auguſt 1770, when he was ſeized with a diſorder in his breaſt and lungs. He grew continually worſe, notwithſtanding all medical aſſiſtance; and without undergoing much pain, in the courſe of his illneſs, or his underſtanding being in the leaſt impaired, he died the 5th of September, in the 72d year of his age.* The laſt words

* "I have twice peruſed Bacon's ingenious "Hiſtory of his life and death." It recommends abundance of things to be taken, and a variety of rules to be obſerved, with a view to make life healthy and long. But of theſe preſcriptions many are too dear, and almoſt all too troubleſome; and

words of this deſervedly eminent man, were expreſſed in the anſwer he gave to a female attendant who offered him ſome nouriſhment, a very ſhort time before his departure, when he ſaid, with great compoſure, "No! I HAVE ENOUGH OF EVERY THING."*

He left the following direction in writing for his funeral: "Bury me in a private manner by day-light at Kenſington in the church, or rather in the new church-yard, and lay a flat ſtone over the grave. Let the inſcription be only this:

JOANNES JORTIN
MORTALIS ESSE DESIIT
ANNO SALUTIS [MDCCLXX]
ÆTATIS [LXXII]

He

and a long life is not *tanti*. Few perſons could procure all theſe *ſubſidia:* a lord chancellor, or a lord biſhop, might; a poor parſon could not afford the hundredth part of the expenſe. But, for their comfort, I will be bold to tell them, that they may fare as well without his regimen. As to myſelf, I never obſerved any of his rules, or any rules at all, except the general ones of regularity and temperance. I never had a ſtrong conſtitution; and yet, thank God, I have no bad ſtate of health, and few acute diſorders." From his "Adverſaria," publiſhed in the advertiſement prefixed to "Tracts philological" &c. p. viii.

* Nichol's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 626.

He was accordingly buried, about nine o'clock in the morning, in the new church-yard at Kenſington, and the above inſcription was put on his grave ſtone.

Dr. Jortin left a widow, [who died June 24, 1778, and was buried in the ſame grave,] and two children, Rogers Jortin, eſq. of the Exchequer office, Lincoln's Inn, and Martha, married to the rev. Samuel Darby, formerly fellow of Jeſus college Cambridge, and now rector of Whatfield, near Hadleigh, Suffolk.

We have various teſtimonies which will lead to form a tolerably correct notion of the true character of our author,* and theſe may well ſpare any laboured delineation from the preſent writer: and more eſpecially as the general review of his writings, which will be found in the preſent pages, will qualify every reader to judge of our author for himſelf.

" Beſides great integrity, great humanity, and other qualities which make men amiable as well as uſeful, this learned and excellent perſon,"

* See p. 216, note.

perſon," ſays Dr. Heathcote, " was of a very pleaſant and facetious turn, as his writings abundantly ſhew. He had nevertheleſs great ſenſibility, and could expreſs himſelf with warmth, and even ſome degree of indignation, when the thought the occaſion warranted him ſo to do. For inſtance, he had a great reſpect and fondneſs for critical learning, which he ſo much cultivated; and though he knew and allowed it to have been diſgraced by the manners of certain proud, faſtidious, and inſolent critics, ſuch as Scaliger,* Salmaſius, Scioppius, &c. yet he thought the reſtoration of letters, and the civilization of Europe, ſo much indebted to it, that he could ill bear to ſee it contemptuouſly treated: and to this may be imputed the little ſatirical ſtrokes which ſometimes occur in his works, againſt thoſe who did ſo contemptuouſly treat it.

" For

* Of an oration of Julius Cæſar Scaliger, Jortin ſays " the whole is ſeaſoned with arrogance, vanity, ſelf-applauſe, ſpite, and ſcurrility, the uſual ornaments, not of a meek and quiet ſpirit, but of a ruffian and a bruiſer in the republic of letters." " Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 519.

" For the motto of his Life of Eraſmus, he choſe ſome words of Eraſmus himſelf: " Illud certe præſagio, de meis lucubrationibus, qualeſcunque ſunt, candidius judicaturam poſteritatem: tametſi nec de meo ſeculo queri poſſum." Yet it is certain that he had very ſlight notions of poſthumous fame or glory, and of any real good which could ariſe from it; as appears from what he had collected and written about it in a note on Milton, at the end of his Remarks on Spencer.* He could ſometimes complain, and doubtleſs with good reaſon, of the low eſtimation into which learning was fallen; and

* See p. 179, or " Tracts philological," &c. vol. i. p. 325, where certain remarks on this head are cloſed by the following,—" If we have the mortification to ſee our works die before us, we may comfort ourſelves with the conſideration, which Seneca ſuggeſts to us, that a time will come, when the moſt excellent and admired compoſitions ſhall periſh. Nor is the conſolation much ſmaller, which offers itſelf to us, when we look back, and conſider how many good authors there muſt needs have been, of whom no memorial is left; and how many, of whom nothing but the bare name ſurvives; and how many books are extant indeed, but never read.

Auſer

and thought it diſcountenanced and diſcouraged, indirectly at leaſt, when ignorant and worthleſs perſons were advanced to high ſtations and great preferments, while men of merit and abilities were overlooked and neglected.* Nevertheleſs, he laid no undue ſtreſs upon ſuch ſtations and ſuch preferments; but

Aufer ab hinc lacrimas, Barathro, et compoſce querelas.
Lumina ſis occulis etiam bonus Ancus reliquit,
Qui melior multis, quam tu, fuit, improbe, rebus,
Lucretius iii. ver. 967, 1038.

To theſe motives of contentment under ſuch circumſtances, I need not add, what every neglected author ſays to himſelf, that the age he lives in has no taſte."

* Dr. Knox, in the former editions of his Eſſays, as has been obſerved before, p. 93, note, had ſaid the ſame thing, which for ſome reaſon or other, that cannot be ſuppoſed to invalidate the fact, he has ſince omitted. An anonymous writer, in the Gent. Mag. for Auguſt 1773. (vol. xliii. p. 387 and 388.) who ſays he was many years intimate with him, and had in general much ſatisfaction in his company, as with him he was unreſerved, obſerves that Dr. Jortin had ſome private fortune of his own and was of a peculiar diſpoſition that could not ſolicit preferment, nor could bear to be neglected, but with ſevere reflections on thoſe who preferred the ignorant, and neglected the learned;—that "his temper was rather moroſe and ſaturnine, as was his aſpect. In company he liked, he was at all

times

but entertained juſt notions concerning what muſt ever conſtitute the chief good and happineſs of man, and is himſelf believed to have made the moſt of them."*

"Where," ſays he in his Adverſaria, "where is happineſs to be found? Where is

times facetious, but mixed with a large quantity of *ſal cenſura ſuperiorum*. His ſermons were ſenſible, argumentative, and to the purpoſe; but delivered in ſo negligent a manner, and with ſo little emphaſis, as to make little impreſſion on the audience. He was a virtuous man, no bigot, but pretty free in his thoughts on ſome controverted points; which yet he had not courage always to avow, reading and diſapproving the Athanaſian creed at the ſame time." Another writer, in the ſame periodical work, for Dec. 1777, (vol. xlvii. p. 595.) obſerves that "his ſermons, pleaſed much more in the cloſet than they did from the pulpit, the preacher wanting all thoſe graces which Herring ſo eminently poſſeſſed, and in truth delivering his diſcourſes with ſuch a ruſtic monotony, and ſuch an inattention to ſtops as well as to cadence, as nearly to reſemble a ſchool-boy repeating a taſk, or rather another perſon's taſk. In his manners, too, there was a kind of ruſticity which ſometimes diſguſted thoſe who did not know him, though he had gentleneſs and true urbanity in his mind."--- A venerable friend told me, that he was "very ſubject to be out of humour, but was chearful and pleaſant when in ſociety, and ſeldom came out while the wind was in the eaſt."

* Dr. Heathcote's "Account," p. xi---xiii.

is her dwelling-place? Not where we ſeek her, and where we expect to find her. Happineſs is a modeſt recluſe, who ſeldom ſhews her lovely face in the polite, or in the buſy world. She is the ſiſter and companion of religious wiſdom.

" Among the vanities and the evils which Solomon beheld under the ſun, and which we daily behold, one is this; an acceſs of temporal fortunes, to the detriment of the poſſeſſor; whence it appears, that ſuch proſperity is a dangerous thing, and that few perſons have a head ſtrong enough, and an heart good enough, to bear it.

" A ſudden riſe from a low ſtation, as it ſometimes ſhews to advantage the virtuous and amiable qualities which could not exert themſelves before; ſo it more frequently calls forth to view, and expoſes to open light thoſe ſpots of the ſoul, thoſe baſe diſpoſitions and hateful vices, which lay lurking in ſecret, cramped by penury, and veiled with diſſimulation.

" An honeſt and ſenſible man is placed in a middle ſtation; in circumſtances rather ſcanty than abounding. He hath all the neceſſaries,

but

but none of the ſuperfluities of life; and theſe neceſſaries he acquires by his prudence, his ſtudies, and his induſtry. If he ſeeks to better his income, it is by ſuch methods as hurt neither his conſcience nor his conſtitution. He hath friends and acquaintances of his own rank: he receives good offices from them, and he returns the ſame. As he hath his occupations, he hath his diverſions alſo; and partakes of the ſimple, frugal, obvious, innocent, and cheerful amuſements of life. By a ſudden turn of things, he grows great, in the church, or in the ſtate. Now his fortune is made; and he ſays to himſelf, "The days of ſcarcity are paſt; the days of plenty are come; and happineſs is come along with them." Miſtaken man! It is no ſuch thing. He never more enjoys one happy day, compared with thoſe, which once ſhone upon him. He diſcards his old companions, or treats them with cold, diſtant, and proud civility. Friendſhip, free and open converſation, rational inquiry, ſincerity, contentment, and the plain and unadulterated pleaſures of life, are no more: they departed from him along with his poverty. New

connections,

connections, new proſpects, new deſires, and new cares take place; and engroſs ſo much of his time and of his thoughts, that he neither improves his heart nor his underſtanding. He lives ambitious and reſtleſs; and he dies---RICH."*

Whether Dr. Jortin was diſappointed in his expectations of notice and preferment from his ſuperiors, it may not be very eaſy to determine with any certainty. It is well known that he was very ſlenderly provided for 'till archbiſhop Herring gave him the living of St. Dunſtan's in the eaſt in 1751, and biſhop Oſbaldiſton the vicarage of Kenſington in 1762.---In his addreſs to his friends at the concluſion of his preface to his Life of Eraſmus, which we have before cited;† and from what he ſays further of himſelf at the cloſe of that work, we may be inclined to think with Dr. Knox, that "he did not repine." In this laſt place, having remarked the high ſtomach of the

* Dr. Jortin's "Adverſaria," cited in Dr. Heathcote's Account, p. xiv.---xvi. and in "Tracts philological," &c. vol. ii. p. 537—539.

† See p. 258.

the learned Joſeph Scaliger, and that his reſentment againſt the age in which he lived, made him talk in a manner beneath himſelf, when he adviſed all parents to keep their children from literature, and to turn them entirely to occupations more lucrative, and more reſpected by the world, he adds, " As for the writer of the Life of Eraſmus, if he may be permitted here to ſpeak of himſelf, and to throw away a few lines upon ſuch a ſubject, he hath no cauſe to wiſh that he had followed other occupations. Not to his erudition, (for many things have concurred to hinder him from making any conſiderable progreſs in it,) but to his conſtant love and purſuit of it, he owes his late patron; [archbiſhop Herring] he owes ſeveral worthy friends ſtill living, ONE in particular; and a ſituation and ſtation, better than he expected, and as good as he ought to deſire."*

In his letter on the muſic of the ancients, Dr. Jortin obſerves that " many things we muſt expect to meet with, which it would be hard

* See "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 607.

hard to bear, if a compenſation were not to be found in honeſt endeavours to do well; in virtuous affections, and connections, and in harmleſs and reaſonable amuſements. And why ſhould not a man amuſe himſelf ſometimes? *Vive la Bagatelle!*" And hereupon he goes on to ſay, " I mention this, principally with a view to the caſe of *others*; *(Homo ſum: humani nihil a me alienum puto:)* having found more friends, and received more favors and courteſies, than, as the world goes, fall to the ſhare of one perſon."*

Theſe declarations are tolerably ſpecific, and I do not ſay that very great ſtreſs is to be laid on the contrary teſtimony of our author againſt himſelf, which may finally be reſolved into mere ſuſpicions and conjectures. Such however as it is, it ſhall be pointed out to the reader's notice.

When he ſpeaks of Eraſmus's talent for humour and ridicule " giving offence, eſpecially to thoſe, who expected that their weakneſſes or vices ſhould be ſpared on account

* See his " Letter on the muſic of the ancients," p. 25. republiſhed in " Tracts philological" &c. vol. ii. p. 17.

of their ſtation and character;" he obſerves, "elſe the king, the courtiers, and the biſhops, who often beſtowed preferments upon drones, void of all capacity and merit, and ſometimes loaded them with pluralities, might eaſily have given him ſomething in the church, without cure of ſouls, which would have afforded him leiſure to ſtudy, and means to live."*

Had not Dr. Jortin felt ſomething of the ſame kind himſelf, he probably would not have cited ſo forcibly, what Eraſmus wrote to lord Mountjoy, "As I remember, your lordſhip uſed to ſay, *Fortune offers a man bread, when he hath no teeth to chew it.*" And he immediately adds, "Better late than never." He then goes on to ſay, from anonymous authority; "Hath literature been thy choice and thy occupation? (ſaith a certain author,) and haſt thou food and raiment? Be contented: be thankful: be amazed at thy good fortune. Art thou diſſatisfied, and deſirous of other things? Go, and make twelve votes at an election. It ſhall do thee more ſervice than

* See "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 52.

than to make a commentary on the twelve minor prophets.*

Neither Jortin, however, nor Eraſmus are to be conſidered among the *infelices literati*,† although they were generally conſidered as learned men neglected by thoſe, who had the ability to ſerve them, and who would have derived much honor to themſelves by ſo doing.

Hints concerning the expectations of literary perſons are ſcattered in various parts of his writings. In one place, he obſerves, that, "every man of letters muſt not indulge the vain hope, though he ſhould be as learned, as ingenious, and as induſtrious as Eraſmus, to be as much favoured and encouraged as he was. But this is not a ſufficient cauſe to deter any perſon from a ſtudious life. Learning is in many reſpects its own reward; learning applied to uſeful purpoſes, and adorned with good manners. Without theſe, though it may be of ſome ſervice to

 the

* See "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 482 and 483.

† Ib. p. 601.

the public, it will be of ſmall comfort to the poſſeſſor.

" After perſonal merit, (ſays Bruyere) it muſt be confeſſed that high ſtations and pompous titles are the principal and the moſt ſplendid marks of diſtinction: and he who cannot be an *Eraſmus*, muſt think of being a *biſhop*.*

Dr. Jortin alſo repreſents Eraſmus, as often declaring " that he could not endure the fatigue of reviſing, poliſhing, and correcting his own works; eſpecially, ſince for all his pains he had no proſpect of obtaining any thing beſides ſcholars wages; weak eyes, ill health, ſhort commons, and a little reputation, mixed with much envy and detraction."†

In addition to what has been already ſtated, reſpecting the character of Dr. Jortin, in the preſent chapter, and may be found incidentally

* See " Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 606.

† See " Life of Eraſmus," p. 67. And if the reader will turn to p. 537. he will find men of rank and fortune ſhewing a love of literature, repreſented as a Mileſian fable and a fairy tale.

incidentally mentioned in other parts of the preſent volume, I muſt be indulged with reciting, as I am perſuaded my reader will be gratified by the peruſal, the character of our author as drawn by the energetic pen of Dr. Parr. "JORTIN," ſays he, "whether I look back to his verſe, to his proſe, to his critical, or to his theological works, there are few authors to whom I am ſo much indebted for rational entertainment, or for ſolid inſtruction. Learned he was, without pedantry. He was ingenious without the affectation of ſingularity. He was a lover of truth, without hovering over the gloomy abyſs of ſcepticiſm, and a friend to free-enquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathleſs wilds of latitudinarianiſm. He had a heart, which never diſgraced the powers of his underſtanding. With a lively imagination, an elegant taſte, and a judgment moſt maſculine and moſt correct, he united the artleſs and amiable negligence of a ſchool boy. Wit without ill-nature, and ſenſe without effort, he could, at will, ſcatter upon every ſubject; and in every book,

the writer preſents us with a near and diſtinct view of the real man:

——ut omnis
Votiva pateat tanquam deſcripta tabella
Vita ſenis.

Hor. Sat. 1. lib. 2.

" His ſtyle, though inartificial, is ſometimes elevated: though familiar, it is never mean; and though employed upon various topics of theology, ethics, and criticiſm, it is not arrayed in any deluſive reſemblance, either, of ſolemnity, from fanatical cant; of profoundneſs, from ſcholaſtic jargon; of preciſion, from the crabbed formalities of cloudy philologiſts; or of refinement, from the techninal babble of frivolous connoiſſeurs.

" At the ſhadowy and fleeting reputation which is ſometimes gained by the petty frolics of literary vanity, or the miſchievous ſtruggles of controverſial rage, Jortin never graſped. Truth, which ſome men are ambitious of ſeizing by ſurprize in the trackleſs and dark receſs, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path: and in the purſuit

purſuit of it, if he does not excite our aſtoniſhment by the rapidity of his ſtrides, he, at leaſt, ſecures our confidence by the firmneſs of his ſtep. To the examination of poſitions advanced by other men, he always brought a mind, which neither prepoſſeſſion had ſeduced, nor malevolence polluted. He impoſed not his own conjectures as infallible and irreſiſtible truths, nor endeavoured to give an air of importance to trifles, by dogmatical vehemence. He could ſupport his more ſerious opinions, without the verſatility of a ſophiſt, the fierceneſs of a diſputant, or the impertinence of a buffoon—more than this—he could *relinquiſh* or *correct* them with the calm and ſteady dignity of a writer, who, while he yielded ſomething to the arguments of his antagoniſts, was conſcious of retaining enough to command their reſpect. He had too much diſcernment to confound difference of opinion with malignity or dullneſs, and too much candour to inſult, where he could not perſuade. Though his ſenſibilities were neither coarſe nor ſluggiſh, he yet was exempt from thoſe fickle humours, thoſe rankling

rankling jealouſies, and that reſtleſs waywardneſs, which men of the brighteſt talents are too prone to indulge. He carried with him, into every ſtation in which he was placed, and every ſubject which he explored, a ſolid greatneſs of ſoul, which could ſpare an inferior, though in the offenſive form of an adverſary, and endure an equal with, or without, the ſacred name of friend. The importance of commendation, as well to him who beſtows, as to him who claims it, he eſtimated not only with juſtice, but with delicacy, and therefore, he neither wantonly laviſhed it, nor withheld it auſterely. But invective he neither provoked nor feared; and, as to the ſeverities of contempt, he reſerved them for occaſions where alone they *could* be employed with propriety, and where, by *himſelf*, they always *were* employed with effect—for the chaſtiſement of arrogant dunces, of cenſorious ſcioliſts, of intolerant bigots in every ſect, and unprincipled impoſtors in every profeſſion. Diſtinguiſhed in various forms of literary compoſition, engaged in various duties of his eccleſiaſtical profeſſion,

profeſſion, and bleſſed with a long and honourable life, he nobly exemplified that rare and illuſtrious virtue of charity, which Leland, in his reply to the letter-writer,* thus eloquently deſcribes. "CHARITY never miſrepreſents; never aſcribes obnoxious principles or miſtaken opinions to an opponent, which he himſelf diſavows; is not ſo earneſt in refuting, as to fancy poſitions never aſſerted, and to extend its cenſure to opinions, which *will perhaps* be delivered. CHARITY is utterly averſe to *ſneering*, the moſt deſpicable ſpecies of ridicule, that moſt deſpicable ſubterfuge of an impotent objector. CHARITY never ſuppoſes, that all ſenſe and knowledge are confined to a particular circle, to a diſtrict, or to a country: CHARITY never condemns and embraces principles in the ſame breath; never *profeſſes* to confute, what it *acknowledges* to be juſt, never preſumes to bear down an adverſary with confident aſſertions; CHARITY does not call diſſent,

* Dr. Thomas Leland's "Anſwer to a letter to him; containing, an examination of the criticiſm on a late diſſertation on the principles of eloquence," p. 51, 4to. 1765.

diſſent, inſolence, or the want of implicit ſubmiſſion, a want of common reſpect."

" This, I cannot help exclaiming in the words of a right reverend remarker*--" This is the ſolution of a philoſopher indeed; clear, ſimple, manly, rational, and ſtriking conviction in every word, unlike the refined and fantaſtic nonſenſe of a writer of paradoxes."

" The eſteem, the affection, the reverence, which I feel for ſo profound a ſcholar, and ſo honeſt a man, as Dr. Jortin, make me wholly indifferent to the praiſe and cenſure of thoſe, who vilify, without reading, his writings, or read them, without finding ſome incentive to ſtudy, ſome proficiency in knowledge, or ſome improvement in virtue."†

We will again adduce the general teſtimony of the eſſayiſt, whom we have repeatedly quoted, and with that cloſe our preſent inquiry. " A review of the life of the late Dr.

* Biſhop Hurd's Remarks on Hume, p. 93.

† See Dr. Parr's "Preface to the two tracts of a Warburtonian," in p. 194---196, of "Tracts by Warburton, and a Warburtonian." 8vo. 1789.

Dr. Jortin cannot but ſuggeſt the moſt pleaſing reflections. As a poet, a divine, a philoſopher, and a man, he ſerved the cauſe of religion, learning, and morality. There are, indeed, many writers whoſe reputation is more diffuſed among the vulgar and illiterate, but few will be found whoſe names ſtand higher than Dr. Jortin's in the eſteem of the judicious."---And afterwards he adds,--- "The tranſition from an author's writings to his life, is frequently diſadvantageous to his character. Dr. Jortin, however, when no longer conſidered as an author, but as a man, is far from being leſſened in our opinion. A ſimplicity of manners, an inoffenſive behaviour, an univerſal benevolence, candour, modeſty, and good ſenſe were his characteriſtics."*

* See Dr. Knox's "Eſſays," vol. ii. Eſſ. cxv.

CHAPTER VIII.

The publication of his poſthumous works; his "Sermons and charges," in 1771 and 1772; the third and fourth volume of his "Remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory," in 1773; and ſome new papers in a re-publication of his "Tracts philological, critical, and miſcellaneous," in 1790.

"Poſthumous publications, it has been remarked, are uſually inferior in merit to thoſe which are publiſhed during an author's life. And, indeed, the opinion ſeems plauſible; as it may be preſumed, that an author's reaſon for not publiſhing his works, is a conſciouſneſs of their inferiority. The ſermons of Dr. Jortin, are, however, an exception. Good ſenſe and ſound morality appear in them, not, indeed, dreſſed out in the meretricious ornaments of a florid ſtyle, but in all the manly force, and ſimple graces of natural

natural eloquence. The ſame caprice, which raiſes to reputation thoſe trifling diſcourſes which have nothing to recommend them but a prettineſs of fancy, and a flowery language, will again conſign them to oblivion: but the ſermons of Dr. Jortin will always be read with pleaſure and edification."*

When Dr. Jortin was once aſked by a friend, "Why he did not publiſh his ſermons?"—"They ſhall ſleep," ſaid he, "'till I ſleep."† This was an implied permiſſion of their future publication, and I am well aſſured that he had ſelected many for the purpoſe, and ſtamped them with his imprimatur. The reaſon of his ſuppreſſing them during his life time, can now only be conjectured. Dr. Knox, however, aſſures us, that "they were deſigned by the author as a legacy to mankind." Adding at the ſame time, that "to enlarge on their

* See Knox's "Eſſays," vol. ii. Eſſ. cxv.

† See Nichols's "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 582.

their value would only be to echo back the public voice."*

It has elſewhere been obſerved, as a matter of ſurpriſe, that a learned diſſertator on the compoſition and comparative excellence of ſome of our engliſh ſermons, has noticed and highly commended the ſermons of archbiſhop Secker, biſhop Hurd and Dr. Powell, but not even mentioned thoſe of Dr. Jortin.† Equally extraordinary, it appears to me, after reading the very honourable character given of them by the ingenious Eſſayiſt, who has been frequently referred to, not to find one ſermon of Jortin's in that collection which is generally reported to have been made under his direction and care.‡

An

* See the *firſt* edition, of "Eſſays" &c. vol. i. Eſſ. XVIII. but omitted in the later editions of his "Remarks on the life and writings of Dr. Jortin."

† Mr. Mainwaring. See his "Sermons on ſeveral occaſions preached before the univerſity of Cambridge. To which is prefixed, a Diſſertation on that ſpecies of compoſition," 8vo. 1780.

‡ "Family lectures; or domeſtic divinity, being a copious collection of Sermons, ſelected from the polite writers

An omiſſion, in both caſes, which can only be ſurpaſſed, by that of Mr. Baker, in his "Reflections upon learning," who has a chapter on metaphyſics, in which he hath made no mention of Locke; juſt as if a man ſhould write the lives of the greek and latin poets, (ſays Dr. Jortin,) and only omit Homer and Virgil;

Tantum religio potuit!*

An

writers and found divines of the preſent century; for the uſe of ſchools, and for general inſtruction." publiſhed by Dilly, 1791. large octavo. The authors, whoſe ſermons are admitted into this collection, are, biſhop Atterbury, Mr. Thomas Newlin, biſhop Sherlock, biſhop Butler, Mr. Jeremiah Seed, Mr. Balguy, Dr. George Fothergill, archdeacon Tottie, Dr. Richard Newton, Dr. Thomas Aſhton, Dr. Matthew Horbery, Dr. Daniel Waterland, Mr. Edward Stone, Dr. John Langhorne, Dr. Alexander Gerard, and Dr. Henry Stebbing.

* See "Life of Eraſmus," vol. i. p. 550. It has lately been obſerved, that, "Ariſtotle was certainly a great politician; and Claudius Ptolemy was a great geographer; but the latter has ſaid not a word of America, the largeſt quarter of the globe; nor the former, of repreſentative republics, the reſource of afflicted humanity." Barlow's "Advice to the privileged orders, in the ſeveral ſtates of Europe." 8vo. 1792. p. 38.

An anonymous writer in one of our periodical publications,* has inſiſted that ſeven of the ſermons in the three laſt volumes are tranſlations from the French of L'Enfant and Oſtervald; and charges the overſight upon the editor. How far the editor of theſe volumes, or the agents whom he employed, deſerve cenſure for their careleſſneſs, I will

* See Gentleman's Magazine for November 1784. (vol. liv. p. 826.) where the following ſermons are ſaid to be tranſlations from the reſpective originals referred to.

Vol. v. Ser. xi. Matt. xi. 30. In great meaſure from the third of L'Enfant.

xiv. Matt. xv. 22. Literally tranſlated from the fourteenth and fifteenth of L'Enfant.

xix. Prov. xx. 12. A cloſe tranſlation from the fourth of the ſame writer.

Vol. vi. Ser. xiii. 1 Cor. xv. 9. A literal tranſlation of the ninth of Oſtervald.

xiv. Gen. xix. 14. The ſame of the firſt of Oſtervald.

xix. Acts iii. 26. The ſame of the fourth.

Vol. vii. ix. 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 7. The ſame of the firſt of L'Enfant.

And, in a preceeding number of the ſame publication for February 1784. p. 86. another writer takes notice of a repetition in the ſecond and eighteenth ſermons in the ſecond volume; and of a miſtake in the arrangement of the matter in the fourteenth and fifteenth ſermons.

I will not take upon myſelf to ſay; but it may be the more excuſable, ſince we have ſeen the editors of the ſermons of the late Mr. Maty, with the eminently diſcerning biſhop Horſley at their head, pronounce upon thoſe ſermons as "not being free from the imperfections, which are incident to the compoſitions of very young men," notwithſtanding three of them are literally tranſcribed from the ſermons of archbiſhop Secker.*—Secker's ſermons, therefore, muſt be no better than the compoſitions of very young men, or biſhop Horſley's judgment, not the judgment of a very wiſe man.

It has already been very juſtly obſerved of theſe ſermons, that "they not only abound with good ſenſe, are highly ingenious and practical, but diſcover great knowledge of the ſacred writings, and a conſiderable acquaintance with other kinds of learning connected with them. It cannot

* For Maty's xivth. ſermon, ſee Secker, vol. iii. ſerm. 1.
xv. ——————————ii.——16.
xvi.——————————iii.——11.
See the "Analyt. Review," for January 1789. vol. iii. p. 32.

be ſaid, indeed, that they are greatly conformable to the eſtabliſhed articles of the church of England, as to ſome particular matters of opinion; but they are candid, liberal, and charitable; manifeſting a diſpoſition which does not wiſh to confine, or to domineer over, any man's judgment or conſcience; but rather to ſerve the cauſe of truth and righteouſneſs, without regard to eſtabliſhments, ſyſtems, or ſectaries."*

To the three latter volumes which were given to the public in 1772, are added a tract entitled "The doctrine of a future ſtate, as it may be collected from the old Teſtament," and "four charges to the clergy of the archdeaconry of London." In the firſt of theſe pieces, Dr. Jortin endeavours, with ſucceſs anſwerable to his conſiderable ſhare of learning, and critical acumen, to convince his reader that, "the doctrine of a future ſtate of retribution ſeems not to be promulgated in the old Teſtament, nor made a ſanction of the moſaic law, nor taught directly and fully; but

* See the review of the firſt four volumes, in the "Monthly review," vol. xliv. p. 363.

but that it is implied and ſuppoſed throughout, and may be proved by inferences juſtly drawn and ſtrictly concluſive. And hence," ſays he, "it came to paſs, that the jews were divided into the ſects of the phariſees and ſadduces. The former admitted a doctrine of a future ſtate, as deducible from many paſſages in the ſacred books; the ſadduces rejected it, becauſe they could not find any texts that abſolutely required a belief of it." It may be added, that this tract contains more argument upon the queſtion than probably will be found in any other volume of the ſame ſize.

The four charges which follow, are every way worthy of their author. The firſt conſiders "chriſtianity as the preſerver and ſupporter of literature;" and the remaining three, treat of "the uſe and importance of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory." That Dr. Jortin was eminently qualified to inquire into and to underſtand theſe queſtions, and that he has ſucceeded in the undertaking, will be denied him by none, who are themſelves acquainted with

the ſubject, with the ſcriptures, or with human nature.

Probably it would not be deemed an acceptable offering to ſerve up the *beauties* of Jortin, whoſe ſermons are already in ſo many hands; but the taſk, humble as it might be conſidered, would neither be difficult, nor unpleaſing. My own obſervation would readily furniſh me with ſuch a ſelection; but the originals, may be read with far more conſiderable advantage, and with greater delight.

Several paſſages in the ſcriptures are *incidentally* explained, and an enumeration of them is ſtated in the margin.* This is an opportunity

* Deut. viii. 4.— Jortin's ſermons. vol. v. p. 218.
Prov. xxx. 7.—— ib. - - iv. p. 1—6.
Matt. v. 22.—— ib. - - ii. p. 209.
xv. 22.—28. ib. - - v. p. 285—304.
xxiii. 15.—— ib. - - v. p. 312.
xxiv. 20.—— ib. - - v. p. 85.
xxvi. 50.—— ib. - - iv. p. 49.
Mark x. 13.—— ib. - - ii. p. 144.—146.
xi. 13.—— ib. - - ii. p. 305. note.
21. and 22. ib. - ii. p. 287.—289.

Luke

opportunity, which I am unwilling to loſe, of obſerving how very uſeful a comprehenſive reference to the works, both theological and miſcellaneous, of learned and ingenious perſons, would be, where paſſages of ſcripture are rationally explained. It would be ſuperior to any commentary. Such explanations are now ſcattered over a very wide field, and many invaluable criticiſms, corrected tranſlations, and illuſtrations are loſt in the great chaos of materials in which they are involved.

One ſermon of Dr. Jortin's, upon Matthew xxii. 32. *God is not the God of the dead, but of the living*;"* in which he vindicated

 the

Luke	xxiii. 31.	Jortins's Sermons,	vii.	p. 44. and 45.
John	xi. 25.——ib.	- -	vi.	p. 201.—206.
	xxi. 15.——ib.	- -	i.	p. 382.—384.
Acts	x. 11.—14. ib.	- -	iii.	p. 353.—357.
Rom.	xii. 20.——ib.	- -	ii.	p. 77.—82.
1. Cor.	xiii. 12.——ib.	- -	iii.	p. 277. note.

* See vol. ii. ſermon 19.—The propoſitions in the ſermon are the following. I. "That the ſoul of man ſubſiſts after death; and hath ſome place of abode allotted to it till the reſurrection." II. "That this intermediate ſtate is, in all *probability*, not a ſtate of inſenſibility to the ſouls of the righteous;

the doctrine of a conſcious intermediate ſtate, upon the principle of the natural immortality of the ſoul, produced a critical inveſtigation of his argument, from archdeacon Blackburne. The diſcernment of this eminent and very able writer, in eſtimating different characters is very obvious in the opening of his review of our author's arguments. In the preceeding chapter of the work to which I refer, he had cloſed his diſquiſition on the labours

righteous; but of thought and ſelf conſciouſneſs, and conſequently of content and of happineſs, in a certain degree."

Our author is ſuppoſed to have failed in the proof of them, but his candid temper is very greatly to be admired. And, throughout the ſermon, he appears to argue more like one deſirous of being convinced, than one who is thoroughly ſatisfied. He ſpeaks only of "the probability lying on his ſide of the queſtion," and of "the ſcriptures not having ſaid ſo much as one could wiſh." Add to theſe the propoſal of a compromiſe at the end of the note, p. 386.

In vol. iv. (ſermon 7.) there is a very excellent ſermon on 2 Tim. i. 10.—*Who hath brought life and immortality to light through the goſpel*; in which he ſays the ſouls of the good are not deprived of thought, but are in a place of peace and contentment, during their ſeparation from the body; concerning which, however, he applies the words of the apoſtle Paul, *now we ſee darkly, now we know in part.*

labours of archbiſhop Secker upon this ſubject, and then goes on to thoſe of Dr. Jortin's. "We are now to exhibit a writer," ſays he,* "of far ſuperior abilities, one who was completely qualified to do juſtice to any ſubject he undertook to handle, and to whoſe remains a kind of veneration is due, even though they are only the *ſcriniorum quisquiliæ*, which zealous friends to deceaſed geniuſes ſometimes expoſe to public view, with leſs judgment than affection." And, in the cloſe of the ſame chapter, he adds, "when his candid conceſſion, that the righteous loſe nothing, and the wicked gain nothing, by their intermediate ſleep, is conſidered, there may be room to doubt, whether the patrons of a conſcious intermediate ſtate will be much edified by the doctor's operations on the queſtion, and whether they will not rather chuſe to abide by their ſtrong hold of a natural immortality.

* See "An hiſtorical view of the controverſy concerning an intermediate ſtate and ſeparate exiſtence of the ſoul between death and the general reſurrection." Second edition, 8vo. 1772. ch. xxviii. p. 268--296.

mortality on philoſophical principles, than accept of his aid on the terms he offers it.

" Be that as it may, let the *hiſtorian* praiſe his candor in expreſſing his diffidence in a manner which ſhews, that he did not deſire his interpretations of the texts he builds upon, ſhould paſs for infallibilities. Would to God I had the talents to perpetuate the reſt of his excellencies to the lateſt poſterity. But he reſts from his labours, and heareth not the voice of the oppreſſor, nor of the petulant ſcorner. His works will ſufficiently ſpeak for him, while there are any remnants of piety, learning, and good ſenſe, among the ſons of Britain, and will follow him to thoſe manſions, where neither envy, malevolence, nor the dogmatical arrogance of ignorant ſupercilious criticiſm, will deprive him of his reward.

Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piſcis amabit,
Dumque thymo paſcentur apes, dum rore cicadæ,
Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudeſque manebunt."

We are now to reſume the ſubject of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and ſpeak of the continuation of his " Remarks," in a fourth and fifth

fifth volume, which were publiſhed in 1773.* Theſe volumes commence with the year 337, and conclude with 1517, that memorable æra, when, as he expreſſes himſelf, " Luther began the heroic work of reformation."†

The materials of which theſe volumes are compoſed are chiefly collected from the works of Fleury, Du Pin, Tillemont, Moſheim, Le Clerc, Baſnage, &c. and the matter of them is diſpoſed in annals.

The eſſayiſt, who, having profeſſedly written remarks on the life and writings of Dr. Jortin, has been repeatedly cited, obſerves generally of our author's remarks on eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that they " are full of manly ſenſe, ingenious ſtrictures, and profound erudition. The work," ſays he, " is highly beneficial to mankind, as it repreſents, in its proper light, that ſuperſtition which diſgraced

* The five volumes are now reprinted in four; the firſt three being reduced by change of page and type to two, in the ſecond edition publiſhed 1767. In all references to them in the courſe of this work, the firſt diſpoſition of them has been conſulted.

† Seç vol. v. laſt page.

diſgraced human nature, and gives a right ſenſe of the advantages derived from religious reformation. He every where expreſſes himſelf with peculiar vehemence againſt the infatuation of bigotry and fanaticiſm. Convinced that true happineſs is founded on a right uſe of the reaſoning powers, he makes it the ſcope of all his religious works, to lead mankind from the errors of imagination, to the dictates of diſpaſſionate reaſon."

We have alſo the very ſtrong and pointed teſtimony of biſhop Watſon, in commendation of the work before us. "Dr. Jortin has," ſays he, "in a little compaſs, taken notice of ſo many facts, and animadverted on them with ſo much judgment, that this work will be ever held in deſerved repute; he has inſerted, alſo, into it, the ſubſtance of his diſcourſes on the nature, uſe, and intent of prophecy; and on miracles, which were preached at Boyle's lecture."*

We

* See Appendix, in vol. vi. of the biſhop's "Collection of tracts" p. 32. His general reflection on the uſe of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is deſerving of recital. "A thouſand inſtances

We now come to the mention of the two volumes of "Tracts, philological, critical and miſcellaneous, conſiſting of pieces, many before publiſhed ſeparately, ſeveral annexed to the works of learned friends, and others now firſt printed from the author's manuſcripts." Theſe volumes were publiſhed ſo lately as 1790; and we have already mentioned ſuch parts of their contents as had been publiſhed ſeparately or annexed to the works of learned friends: it only remains to take due notice of thoſe pieces which were now firſt printed from the author's manuſcripts.

In the former volume, there are, of this deſcription, ſome "Scriptural illuſtrations; ſtrictures on the articles, ſubſcriptions, teſts, &c.; curſory obſervations; anecdotes; and tranſlations from the "Luſus poetici:" in the ſecond volume

inſtances of blind attachment to ſyſtem might be taken from the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of every century; indeed the whole of it is little more, than the hiſtory of the ſtruggles of different ſects to overturn the ſyſtems of others in order to build up their own, and the great leſſon which every ſect, and every individual of every ſect, ought to learn from its peruſal is—MODERATION." See preface to "Collection of tracts," p. xiv.

volume are ſome " Critical remarks on modern authors; and maxims and reflections."

The " Scriptural illuſtrations,"* are of unequal importance, but all of them ingenious. They ſhew the great advantage which the claſſic ſcholar poſſeſſes in the means of explaining and illuſtrating the ſcriptures, and of gratifying his taſte for literature. It is obſerved by the author himſelf, that, " as religion hath been the chief preſerver of erudition, ſo erudition hath not been ungrateful to her patroneſs, but hath contributed largely to the ſupport of religion. The uſeful expoſitions of the ſcriptures, the ſober and ſenſible defences of revelation, the faithful repreſentation of *pure and undefiled* chriſtianity; theſe have been the works of learned, judicious, and induſtrious men. The corruptions of the goſpel, the perverſe interpretations and abſurd ſenſes put upon the word of God, both in matters of faith and of practice; theſe have been the inventions of men, who had a ſmall ſhare of learning,

* See " Tracts philological" &c. vol. i. p. 376—416.

learning, and a large ſhare of knavery, or of fanaticiſm, or of *both* blended together.

" Fanatics are no friends to reaſon and learning, and not without ſome kind of plea; firſt, becauſe they have uſually a ſlender proviſion of either: ſecondly, becauſe a man hath no occaſion to ſpend his time and his pains in the ſtudious way, who hath an inward illumination to guide him to truth, and to make ſuch labour unneceſſary.

" But, they who ſay that human learning is of no uſe in religion, are no more to be diſputed with, than the honeſt man in Horace,

> Qui ſe credebat miros audire tragædos,
> In vacuo lætus ſeſſor plauſorque theatro.

" He who ſtrives and expects to convince and alter ſuch perſons, either undervalues his time and pains, or overvalues his abilities. " Sola ſcripturarum ars eſt," ſays Jerome, ' quam ſibi omnes paſſim vendicant: hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus ſenex, hanc ſophiſta verboſus, hanc univerſi preſumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam diſcant.' What would he ſay,

Si foret hoc noſtrum fato dilatus in ævum ?*

The paſſages in the old and new Teſtament which Dr. Jortin hath attempted to illuſtrate in the pages now before us are mentioned in the margin.†

The

* See Dr. Jortin's firſt charge to the clergy of the archdeaconry of London ſubjoined to his Sermons. vol. vii. p. 353—377.

† Judges xi. 39.
1 Sam. xxvi. 7.
2 Sam. xxi. 20.
Prov. iv. 17.
vi. 6.
ix. 17.
xxviii. 20.
Solomon's ſong. ii. 7.
Iſaiah xxx. 33.
Daniel. (a general remark)
Matthew ii. 16 and 20.
vi. 9. 15 and 28.
vi. 5.
viii. 20.
ix. 38.
xi. 25 and 30.
xiii. 13.
xvii. 21.
xxii. 37.
xxiii. 2.
Mark iv. 39.
ix. 49.
xii. 43.
xiv. 37, &c.
Luke ii. 33.
xi. 3.
xiii. 29.
xiv. 13. 15 and 23.
xxiii. 15.
xxiv. 11 and 18.
John i. 1. 3 and 16.
v. 4.
xvi. 13.
xx. 28.
Acts xii. 19.
xix. 35.
xx. 13.
Rom. xiii. 3.
1 Cor. v. 5.
vi. 11.

1 Cor.

The "Strictures on the articles, ſubſcriptions, teſts, &c."* appear to have been the effort of a mind not entirely at eaſe. Four different degrees of aſſent in which they are ſubſcribed are ſtated; and ſeveral reaſons are given in favor of ſubſcribing in the laxeſt ſenſe. Theſe reaſons ſtand in direct oppoſition to the declared intention of the ſubſcription now required by law, which was to prevent diverſity of opinion. And inſtead of being arguments for a latitude of ſubſcription, are ſo many reaſons for the abolition of ſuch ſtipulations from candidates for the miniſtry, not only as being a direct violation of the rights of chriſtians and proteſtants, but wholly inſufficient for effecting the avowed deſign of preſerving an uniformity of opinion; productive of much prevarication and hypocriſy; and tending to ſtifle, counteract, and

1 Cor.	xii. 21 and 26.	2 Tim.	iv. 16.
	xv. 32.	Heb.	xi. 37.
Gal.	v. 12.	2 Peter,	i 16—19.
1 Tim.	i. 6.	1 John	v. 7.
	iii. 16.		

* See "Tracts philological &c." vol. i. p. 417---427.

and ſuppreſs the truth as we find it in the goſpel of Jeſus.

" If we will not allow of theſe reaſons,"* ſays our author, " we muſt ſuppoſe that in an

* In favor of ſubſcribing in a laxer ſenſe, the following reaſons are alledged.

1. " Our church admits perſons to baptiſm, upon an aſſent to the apoſtle's creed; and uſeth only that creed in the catechiſm, and in the viſitation of the ſick.

2. " She declares that the ſcripture is the only rule of faith.

3. " She owns herſelf to be fallible.

4. " Some illuſtrious divines of our communion have made declarations, which neceſſarily imply a diſlike of certain things contained in the liturgy, or articles; and yet never were cenſured for it, by public authority: as Chillingworth, Hales, Taylor, Hammond, Tillotſon, Stillingfleet,—*cum multis aliis*.

5. " There are propoſitions contained in our liturgy and articles, which no man of common ſenſe amongſt us believes.—No one believes that all the members of the Greek church are damned, becauſe they admit not the proceſſion of the holy ghoſt from the ſon: yet the athanaſian creed, according to the uſual and obvious ſenſe of the words, teacheth this. No one believes himſelf obliged to keep the *ſabbath* day: yet the liturgy, ſtrictly interpreted, requires it.

6. " It is evident, beyond a doubt, that the whole body of the clergy, and of the *learned* laity, depart, ſome more, ſome

an age,—and an age perhaps not the moſt learned,—an aſſembly of fallible men may determine concerning all points of faith and practice for themſelves, and for their heirs; and entail bondage and darkneſs, worſe than Ægyptian, upon their poſterity for ever and ever."

But the queſtion is not concerning their power (i. e. their legal power,) but their right;—not what *they may* do, but what they *have done*; and the continuation of ſuch ſubſcription is a proof of what fallible men, whether impoſers or ſubſcribers, *dare* do.

There cannot be more deciſive reaſons for the removal of all ſubſcription, than the apologies of Jortin and Paley* for the preſent preſcribed formularies.

ſome leſs, from the religious opinions of their anceſtors in the days when the articles were eſtabliſhed by law, and from the rigid and literal ſenſe of them. This univerſal conſent of a nation, to deviate thus in ſome points from the old doctrines, amounts to an abrogation of ſuch rigid interpretations of the articles, and to a permiſſion of a latitude in ſubſcribing."

* See Paley's "Moral and political philoſophy." B. iii. part i. ch. xxii.

Should, however, theſe reaſons for the latitude here contended for, be thought not ſufficiently to ſhew the futility of the apology, and the neceſſity of the utter extirpation of all requiſition to ſign articles of religion, it cannot be improper to recite an obſervation of Dr. Jortin's which is placed at the foot of the preceeding diſcuſſion.

" Subſcriptions and teſts are ſuppoſed, ſays he, to be admirable methods to keep out the heterodox. But what ſaid the philoſopher to the jealous huſband? 'Thou mayeſt bar thy windows, and lock thy doors; but a cat and a whoremaſter will find the way in.'

Amanti aut indigenti difficile eſt nihil.

And the ſpecific teſtimony he bears to one propoſition contained in the articles, is more than a reflection upon all the reſt.* " I do not

* Bacon ſays, " If St. John were to write an epiſtle to the church of England, as he did to that of Aſia, it would ſurely contain the clauſe, *I have a few things againſt thee.* I am not quite of his opinion: (ſays Jortin) I am afraid the clauſe would be, " I have *not* a few things againſt thee." See maxims and reflections, in " Tracts." vol. ii. p. 530.

not remember," ſays he, " to have ſee nit diſcuſſed by any writer upon that ſubject; which, I believe, few of the ſubſcribers ever examined; but which, I think, every one might ſafely receive with implicit faith. It is this:

" The churches of Hieruſalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred." Art. xix.

Dr. Jortin was always gentle in his judgment on hereſy and heretics: and, I cannot, but think, that when he was on theſe ſubjects he thought himſelf a party concerned. " What St. Paul and other apoſtles pronounce againſt the *heretics* of their time, ſays he, is not to be applied to all thoſe, who in theſe later ages err in matters of faith. They neither deſpiſe the apoſtles, nor reject the goſpel: nor do they uſually ſeem to be ſeduced from the right way by views of honour or of profit. Many of them might ſay to the church, as Æneas to Dido,

Invitus, *regina*, tuo de littore ceſſi."*

The

* Contraſt the ſtate of religion in Europe with that in America. " In the united ſtates of America, there is, ſtrictly

The "Curſory obſervations"* contain ſeveral notes, neither unentertaining, nor unfruitful to a reflecting mind. One remark reſpecting the firſt proteſtant ſchools and univerſities in Germany, was in great degree confirmed in the perſon of Eraſmus. "Moſt of the ſtudents," ſays Jortin, "were very poor, they ſupported themſelves by begging and ſinging pſalms from door to door: they ſtudied by moon-light, for want of candles; they were almoſt ſtarved for want of fire; and often went to bed with an empty ſtomach: yet the earneſt deſire of erudition conquered all theſe difficulties, and they became private tutors, ſchool-maſters, preachers and

ſtrictly ſpeaking, no ſuch thing as a *church*; and yet in no country are the people more religious. All ſorts of religious opinions are entertained there, and yet no *hereſy* among them all; all modes of worſhip are practiſed, and yet there is no *ſchiſm*; men frequently change their creed and their worſhip, and yet there is no *apoſtacy*; they have miniſters of religion, but no *prieſts*. In ſhort, religion is there a *perſonal* and not a *corporate* concern." See Barlow's "Advice to privileged orders." 1792. part i. p. 50. note.

* See "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 428—444.

and profeſſors. " *Our* young folks," adds he, " have not the tenth part of theſe hardſhips to endure, nor a tenth part of their induſtry and learning."

Admitting the truth of this remark, which will not be much diſputed, we may deſcry the cauſe of it in a ſubſequent obſervation made by our author. " We have had," ſays he, " ſome powerful *druids* and *high prieſts*, who would have liked a decree of the Epheſian kind (the baniſhment of perſons of ſuperior merit,) concerning the clergy : *If any eccleſiaſtic amongſt us ſurpaſs others in learning and abilities, let him by all means be depreſſed ; and never permitted to riſe above the ſtation of a curate.*"*

The

* " In the eccleſiaſtical edifice, the ſtones, which ſupport the whole, are placed loweſt : the gilded weathercock ſhines at the top, and ſhifts about with the wind." See Maxims and reflections in " Tracts," vol. ii. p 534. " There muſt be ſome laymen in a ſynod, ſays Selden, to overlook the clergy, leſt they ſpoil the *civil* work : juſt as when the good woman puts a cat into the dairy to kill a mouſe, ſhe ſends her maid to look after the cat, leſt the cat ſhould eat the cream." ib. p. 536.

The ſmall collection of "Anecdotes"* was communicated to the editor of theſe volumes, by a friend, with an obſervation, by way of introduction, that "from the complexion of thoſe anecdotes which a man collects from others, or which he forms by his own pen, may, without much difficulty, be conjectured, *what manner of man* he was." Some of theſe have conſiderable point, they are nevertheleſs conſidered by the gentleman who communicated them, "as no more, at the beſt, than the *earthen feet* of Daniel's coloſſal ſtatue."

Among the reſt we read, that ſomebody ſaid to the learned Bignon, "Rome is the ſeat of faith."---"It is true," replied he; "but this faith is like thoſe people, who are never to be found at home."—A ſomewhat ſimilar ſentiment was expreſſed by the wife of a farmer in a northern county, who held his farm on leaſe from one of the hoſpitals in London, upon her being aſked by a truly reſpectable lady, Who was her huſband's landlord? "Madam," ſaid ſhe, "our farm belongs to charity a long way off."

The

* See "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 445---459.

The few remaining pages of the firſt volume of the "Tracts," contain "Tranſlations from the Luſus Poetici;"* ſome of which have been noticed before.† The deſign in publiſhing this addition to the ſmaller pieces of Dr. Jortin, is expreſſed by one of the tranſlators, and he may be conſidered as ſpeaking for the reſt." "He wiſhed to give the Engliſh reader ſome idea of Jortin's elegance of fancy, and to excite the ſcholar to peruſe ſome of the moſt claſſical latin verſes which modern times have produced."

The new matter in the ſecond volume of "Tracts" is compriſed in the two laſt articles, "Critical remarks on modern authors; and maxims and reflections."

John Beaumont, Caſaubon, Bp. Chandler, Pope and Swift, Thirlby, and Voltaire, are the ſubjects of ſhort remarks. What is ſaid on Borleau is extracted from Jortin's "Miſcellaneous

* See "Tracts philological, &c." vol. i. p. 460- -473.

† p. 10 and 14. In the Gentleman's magazine for March 1792. p. 263, is a tranſlation of Dr. Jortin's elegant epitaph on a cat.

cellaneous obſervations," and of archbiſhop Herring, from his " Life of Eraſmus."

The " maxims and reflections" which cloſe the volume before us,* contain much truth and much good ſenſe. The application of theſe, and of the various remarks and obſervations, which are ſcattered with a rich variety through all the writings of our author, muſt remain with the reader, who is diſpoſed to benefit by the leſſons which Jortin hath delivered to poſterity.

* " Tracts philological, &c." vol. ii. p. 529---539.

THE END.

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